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The MIRROR, *N°* 13. *March* 9. 1779.

THE antiquity of the poems aſcribed to *Oſſian* the ſon of *Fingal*, has been the ſubject of much diſpute. The refined magnanimity and generoſity of the heroes, and the tenderneſs and delicacy of ſentiment with regard to women, ſo conſpicuous in theſe poems, are circumſtances very difficult to reconcile with the rude and uncultivated age in which the poet is ſuppoſed to have lived. On the other hand, the intrinſic characters of antiquity which the poems bear; that ſimple ſtate of ſociety the poet paints; the narrow circle of objects and tranſactions he deſcribes; his conciſe, abrupt, and figurative ſtyle; the abſence of all abſtract ideas, and of all modern alluſions, render it difficult to aſſign any other æra for their production than the age of Fingal. In ſhort, there are difficulties on both ſides; and if that remarkable refinement of manners ſeem inconſiſtent with our notions of an unimproved age, the marks of antiquity with which the poems are ſtamped make it very hard to ſuppoſe them a modern compoſition. It is not, however, my intention to examine the merits of this controverſy, much leſs to hazard any judgement of my own: all I propoſe is, to ſuggeſt one conſideration on the ſubject, which, as far as I can recollect, has hitherto eſcaped the partiſans of either ſide.

The elegant author of the *Critical Diſſertation on the poems of Oſſian* [25. 205.],

has very properly obviated the objections made to the uniformity of Oſſian's imagery, and the too frequent repetition of the ſame compariſons. He has ſhown, that this objection proceeds from a careleſs and inattentive peruſal of the poems: for although the range of the poet's objects was not wide, and conſequently the ſame object does often return; yet its appearance is changed; the image is new; it is preſented to the fancy in another attitude, and clothed with different circumſtances to make it ſuit the illuſtration for which it is employed. In this, continues he, lies Oſſian's great *art*; and he illuſtrates his remark by taking the inſtances of the *moon* and of *miſt*, two of the principal ſubjects of the bard's images and alluſions.

I agree with this critic in his obſervations, though I think he has rather erred, in aſcribing to *art* in Oſſian that wonderful diverſification of the narrow circle of objects with which he was acquainted. It was not by any efforts of art or contrivance that Oſſian preſented the rude objects of Nature under ſo many different aſpects. He wrote from a full heart, from a rich and glowing imagination. He did not ſeek for, and invent images; he copied Nature, and painted objects as they ſtruck and kindled his fancy. He had nothing within the range of his view but the great features of ſimple Nature. The ſun, the moon, the ſtars, the deſert heath, the winding ſtream, the green hill with all its roes, and the rock with its robe of miſt, were the objects amidſt which Oſſian lived. Contemplating theſe, [illegible] every variety of appearance they [illegible] aſſume, no wonder that his warm [illegible] enthuſiaſtic genius found in them a [illegible] ſtuff of the moſt lofty and ſub- [illegible] ry.

[illegible] very circumſtance of his ha- [illegible] cumſcribed range of imani- [illegible] to attract his attention, and [illegible] imagination, was the natu- [illegible] ry cauſe of Oſſian's being [illegible] and to deſcribe them, under [illegible] ety of great and beautiful ap- [illegible] And may we not proceed [illegible] ed, affirm, that ſo rich a diver- [illegible] of the few appearances of ſim- [illegible] could hardly have occurred [illegible] agination of a poet living in any [illegible] than the rude and early age in [illegible] e ion of Fingal appeared.

[illegible] ed and poliſhed ſociety, where [illegible] s of art abound, the endleſs va- riety of objects that preſent themſelves, diſtract and diſſipate the attention. The mind is perpetually hurried from one object to another, and no time is left to dwell upon the ſublime and ſimple appearances of Nature. A poet, in ſuch an age, has a wide and diverſified circle of objects on which to exerciſe his imagination. He has a large and diffuſed ſtock of materials from which to draw images to embelliſh his work; and he does not always reſort for his imagery to the diverſified appearance of the objects of rude Nature: he does not avoid thoſe becauſe his taſte rejects them; but he uſes them ſeldom, becauſe they ſeldom recur to his imagination.

To ſeize theſe images belongs only to the poet of an early and ſimple age, where the undivided attention has leiſure to brood over the few, but ſublime, objects which ſurround him. The ſea and the heath, the rock and the torrent, the clouds and meteors, the thunder and lightning, the ſun, and moon, and ſtars, are, as it were, the companions with which his imagination holds converſe. He perſonifies and addreſſes them: Every aſpect they can aſſume is impreſſed upon his mind; he contemplates and traces them through all the endleſs varieties of ſeaſons; and they are the perpetual ſubjects of his images and alluſions. He has, indeed, only a few objects around him; but, for that very reaſon, he forms a more intimate acquaintance with their every feature, and ſhade, and attitude.

From this circumſtance it would ſeem, that the poetical productions of widely-diſtant periods of ſociety muſt ever bear ſtrong marks of the age which gave them birth; and that it is not poſſible for a poetical genius of the one age to counterfeit and imitate the productions of the other. To the poet of a ſimple age, the varied objects which preſent themſelves in cultivated ſociety are unknown. To the poet of a refined age, the idea of imitating the productions of rude times might, perhaps, occur; but the execution would certainly be difficult, perhaps impracticable. To catch ſome few tranſient aſpects of any of the great appearances of Nature, may be within the reach of the genius of any age; but to perceive, and feel, and paint, all the ſhades of a few ſimple objects, and to make them correſpond with a great diverſity of ſubjects, the poet muſt dwell amidſt them,

them, and have them ever preſent to his mind.

The excellent critic whom I have already mentioned, has ſelected the inſtances of the *moon* and of *miſt*, to ſhew how much Oſſian has diverſified the appearance of the few objects with which he was encircled. I ſhall now conclude this paper with ſelecting a *third*, that of the *ſun*, which, I think, the bard has preſented in ſuch a variety of aſpects, as could have occurred to the imagination in no other than the early and unimproved age in which Oſſian is ſuppoſed to have lived.

The vanquiſhed *Frothal*, ſtruck with the generous magnanimity of Fingal, addreſſes him: "Terrible art thou, O King of Morven, in battles of the ſpears! but, in peace, thou art like the ſun when he looks through a ſilent ſhower; the flowers lift their fair heads before him, and the gales ſhake their ruſtling wings." —Of the generous open *Cathmor*, expoſed to the dark and gloomy *Cairbar*, it is ſaid, "His face was like the plain of the ſun when it is bright: No darkneſs travelled over his brow." — Of *Nathos*: "The ſoul of Nathos was generous and mild, like the hour of the ſetting ſun." Of young *Connal*, coming to ſeek the honour of the ſpear: "The youth was lovely, as the firſt beam of the ſun."— "O! Fithil's ſon," ſays Cuchullin, "with feet of wind, fly over the heath of Lena. Tell to Fingal, that Erin is enthralled, and bid the King of Morven haſten. O! let him come like the ſun in a ſtorm, when he ſhines on the hills of graſs."

Nathos, anxious for the fate of Darthula: "The ſoul of Nathos was ſad, like the ſun in the day of miſt, when his face is watery and dim." — *Oſcar*, ſurrounded with foes, foreſeeing the fall of his race, and yet at times gathering hope: "At times, he was thoughtful and dark, like the ſun when he carries a cloud on his face; but he looks afterward on the hills of Cona."—Before *Roſmina* ſent to offer them the peace of heroes: "The ſoft of Erragon brightened in her preſence, as a rock before the ſudden beams of the ſun, when they iſſue from a broken cloud, divided by the roaring wind." —The remembrance of battles paſt, and the return of peace, is compared to the ſun returning after a ſtorm: "Hear the battle of Lora: the ſound of its ſteel is long ſince paſt; ſo thunder on the darkened hill roars, and is no more; the ſun returns with his ſilent beams; the glittering rocks, and green heads of the mountains, ſmile."

Fingal in his ſtrength darkening in the preſence of war: "His arm ſtretches to the foe like the beam of the ſickly ſun, when his ſide is cruſted with darkneſs, and he rolls his diſmail courſe throughout the ſky."—A young hero exulting in his ſtrength, and ruſhing toward his foes, exclaims, "My beating ſoul is high! My fame is bright before me like the ſtreak of light on a cloud when the broad ſun comes forth, red traveller of the ſky!"—On another occaſion, ſays a hero, "I have met the battle in my youth. My arm could not lift the ſpear when firſt the danger roſe; but my ſoul brightened before the war as the green narrow vale, when the ſun pours his ſtreamy beams, before he hides his head in a ſtorm!"

But it would exceed the proper bounds of this paper, were I to bring together all the paſſages which might illuſtrate my remarks. Without, therefore, quoting the beautiful addreſs to the ſun which finiſhes the ſecond book of *Temora*, or that at the beginning of *Caricthura*, I ſhall conclude with laying before my readers that ſublime paſſage at the end of *Carthon*, where the aged bard, thrown into melancholy by the remembrance of that hero, thus pours himſelf forth:

— "I feel the ſun, O! Malvina; leave me to my reſt. The beam of heaven delights to ſhine on the grave of Carthon; I feel it warm around.

O thou that rolleſt above, round as the ſhield of my fathers! whence are thy beams, O Sun! thy everlaſting light? Thou comeſt forth in thy awful beauty, and the ſtars hide themſelves in the ſky: The moon, cold and pale, ſinks in the Weſtern wave; but thou thyſelf moveſt alone. Who can be a companion of thy courſe? The oaks of the mountain fall; the mountains themſelves decay with years; the ocean ſhrinks, and grows again; the moon herſelf is loſt in heaven; but thou art for ever the ſame, rejoicing in the brightneſs of thy courſe. When the world is dark with tempeſts; when thunder rolls, and lightning flies, thou looke'ſt in thy beauty from the clouds, and laugheſt at the ſtorm. But to Oſſian thou looke'ſt in vain; for he beholds thy beams no more, whether thy yellow hair flows on the Eaſtern clouds, or thou

trembleſt at the gates of the Weſt. But thou art, perhaps, like me, for a ſeaſon, and thy years will have an end. Thou ſhalt ſleep in thy clouds careleſs of the voice of the morning. Exult then, O Sun, in the ſtrength of thy youth! Age is dark and unlovely; it is like the glimmering light of the moon when it ſhines through broken clouds; the blaſt of the North is on the plain, and the traveller ſhrinks in the midſt of his journey."

From Dr Percival's *Moral Tales.*

Truth never impreſſes the mind more forcibly, than when ſuggeſted by a juſt and ſtriking Analogy.

WHen Charles V. had reſigned the ſceptre of Spain, and the Imperial crown of Germany, he retired to the monaſtery of St Juſtus, near the city of Placentia in Eſtremadura. It was ſeated in a vale, of no great extent, watered by a ſmall brook, and ſurrounded by riſing grounds, covered with lofty trees. From the nature of the ſoil, as well as the temperature of the climate, it was eſteemed the moſt healthful and delicious ſituation in Spain. Here he cultivated, with his own hands, the plants in his garden; and ſometimes he rode out to a neighbouring wood on a little horſe, attended only by a ſingle ſervant on foot. When his infirmities confined him to his apartment, and deprived him of theſe more active recreations, he either admitted a few gentlemen, who reſided near the monaſtery, to viſit him, and entertained them familiarly at his own table; or he employed himſelf in ſtudying mechanical principles, and in forming works of mechaniſm, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. He was extremely curious with regard to the conſtruction of clocks and watches; and having found, after repeated trials, that he could not bring any two of them to go exactly alike, he reflected, with a mixture of ſurpriſe as well as regret, on his own folly, (as he might alſo on his cruelty and injuſtice), in having exerted himſelf with ſo much zeal and perſeverance in the more vain attempt of bringing mankind to a uniformity of ſentiment concerning the doctrines of religion.—Happy would it have been for Europe, if this juſt and ſtriking analogy had occurred to the monarch during the plenitude of his power! And happy might it now prove, if allowed to operate againſt the ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution, which ſtill actuates many individuals, and even large communities.

To the author of the SCOTS MAGAZINE.

SIR, *April* 1779.

I Obſerved, in your Magazine for January laſt [14.], an account, tranſcribed from the Annual Regiſter, of the proceedings at Madras, in the year 1776, in conſequence of the diſenſions between Lord Pigot the Governor, and the majority of the Council; which account inſinuates ſome ſevere reflections againſt the conduct of Col. Stuart.

Since then there happened to come into my hands a letter, wrote, in the month of December laſt, to the Directors of the Eaſt-India company, by Mr Andrew Stuart, the Colonel's brother, which ſtates theſe tranſactions, in ſo far as Col. Stuart was concerned, in a very different light.—The compiler of the Annual Regiſter, which was publiſhed before the date of this letter, had not an opportunity to avail himſelf of the information therein contained; and it may well be preſumed, that, in an addreſs to thoſe who had beſt acceſs to know the truth, Mr Stuart would ſtate only what was ſtrictly agreeable to it.

The letter, which is very full and circumſtantial, is by much too long to find a place in your Magazine; I ſend you, however, ſome paſſages from it tending to throw light upon the tranſactions alluded to, and which I think you ought to inſert in your next.—I am, &c.

The Extracts.

—"The written order of 23d of Auguſt 1776, to Col. Stuart, for putting the majority of Council in poſſeſſion of the fort, and for arreſting the perſon of Lord Pigot, was ſigned by ſeven members of the Council, which conſtituted an unqueſtionable majority; and it is farther to be obſerved, that one of thoſe members who ſigned that order, was the commander in chief, Sir Robert Fletcher.

At the time when Col. Stuart received this order, he had no ſeat or vote in Council, no deliberative voice; his duty was that of obedience only to his lawful ſuperiors, civil and military; he thought it therefore indiſpenſably his duty to obey the joint orders of a clear majority of Council, concurring with the commander in chief.—

I take it for granted, that it will not be diſputed by any man, and much leſs by any man of military experience, that it is a material part of the duty of an officer

cer charged with ſuch an unpleaſant and hazardous order, to ſtudy to execute it in ſuch a manner, as may leaſt endanger the lives, either of thoſe who are the objects of the order, or of thoſe by whom it is to be carried into execution, and at the ſame time may be the beſt calculated for avoiding tumults in the community.

It is admitted on all hands, that all theſe material purpoſes were completely anſwered by the mode in which the arreſt of Lord Pigot, and the poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of Fort St George, were accompliſhed: for there was not a life loſt; nay, not the ſmalleſt perſonal hurt received by any one man in the ſettlement upon this occaſion. ——

The mode of arreſting Ld Pigot, and ſome of the circumſtances attending the accompliſhment of it, have been loudly complained of; not as affecting either the peace of the ſettlement, or the intereſts of the company; but on this ground, that the arreſt is ſaid to have been brought about in a manner that was unhandſome, and deceitful, and, that I may not ſeem to avoid ſtating it in the ſtrongeſt terms, even treacherous to Lord Pigot.——

There can hardly be a doubt in the mind of any man, that the meaſure of arreſting Lord Pigot privately, in preference to the other alternative, of ſecuring his perſon in an open and violent manner, proceeded from a deſire of not occaſioning the loſs of lives, and of preventing any tumults and confuſion in the ſettlement; and it may not be aſſuming too much to add, that it proceeded alſo from a deſire to avoid any chance of injury to Lord Pigot's perſon. The only queſtion is, Whether, in the accompliſhment of theſe purpoſes, Col. Stuart employed more addreſs, than is juſtifiable, even for the attaining any great public objects?

It ſeems to be generally agreed, that ſince Lord Pigot was in all events to be arreſted, it was much more proper that his arreſt ſhould be accompliſhed in a private manner, without noiſe or diſturbance, than that the hazard ſhould be incurred of any tumult or ſcuffle, by an open and violent arreſt. This preference of *a private arreſt*, includes in it an approbation of ſome degree of management, ſome addreſs or ſurpriſe in the accompliſhment of the buſineſs recommended to the executive officer; for without theſe it ceaſes to be of the nature of a private arreſt, the very object of which is to lay hold of the perſon to be arreſted, when unſuſpecting any ſuch intention againſt him, and unprepared for reſiſtance.

So far at leaſt then is clear, that it ought not to create any prejudice againſt Col. Stuart, that he ſecured Lord Pigot's perſon when unprepared for reſiſtance, and without any ſuſpicion of what was intended. ——

It was ſaid, that Col. Stuart, at the time of theſe tranſactions, was in habits of friendſhip and intimacy with Lord Pigot, and even poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare of his confidence; that he was under obligations to Lord Pigot, or at leaſt was courting his favour and confidence; that he had invited himſelf to ſup with Lord Pigot on the 23d of Auguſt, and to breakfaſt, and then to dinner and ſupper with him on the 24th, the day of the arreſt; and that all this was done ſolely with a view of *betraying his friend.*

This, to be ſure, was a very unfavourable repreſentation for Col. Stuart; and it is not ſurpriſing that it ſhould have excited a warm indignation againſt him. — It will now, however, appear, that not one of the above particulars has the leaſt foundation in fact.

That Col. Stuart was in no habits of friendſhip or intimacy with Lord Pigot, at or about the time of theſe tranſactions, is a fact not only aſſerted by Col. Stuart, in the various letters received from him, but was known almoſt to every perſon at Madras; and there are ſeveral gentlemen from India, now in London, both in the civil and military departments of the company's ſervice, who can atteſt the truth of theſe aſſertions.

But, independent of any other teſtimony, the records of the company afford ſatisfactory evidence upon this point. It there appears, that Lord Pigot, for a conſiderable time before the incidents of the 23d and 24th of Auguſt 1776, had been in a courſe of thwarting and oppoſing every plan that had been propoſed by Col. Stuart's friends, with a view to his being eſtabliſhed in a particular military command, which from his rank in the ſervice, from the importance of the command, and from the opinion of the commander in chief, Col. Stuart was thought to have a good title to expect.—

Inſtead of Col. Stuart's courting Lord Pigot, for the command of the army, it has already been ſhewn, that he declined

ned that command in July 1776, when Ld Pigot, wiſhing to get rid of Sir Robert Fletcher, offered the command in chief to Col. Stuart, then ſecond in command; from that time till the 23d of Auguſt there was no intercourſe between Lord Pigot and Col. Stuart, nor were they in any habits of friendſhip or intimacy.——

Col. Stuart's preſence at the ſupper on the evening of the 23d, and at the breakfaſt and dinner on the 24th, at Lord Pigot's houſe, have alſo been converted into charges againſt him.—They happened merely as the accidental and natural conſequences of the intercourſe which was brought on in the courſe of theſe two days, at Lord Pigot's deſire, that he might have a more favourable opportunity of uſing every effort to prevail on Col. Stuart to accept the command in chief.——

That you may perceive the authority I have for contradicting the aſſertions, not only with reſpect to Col. Stuart's intruding himſelf upon Lord Pigot at his convivial hours, but alſo as to his being on terms of intimacy or friendſhip with his Lordſhip about the time of the arreſt, I beg leave to inſert the paragraph of a letter which I received from Col. Stuart, of ſo old a date as 13th December 1776. It is in theſe words:

"It has likewiſe been given out by my enemies, that I was at the time in the greateſt habits of intimacy with him (Lord Pigot), and approved of his meaſures. The fact is directly the contrary: for we had not been on ſpeaking terms for a very conſiderable time before, and I had not dined at his houſe from the latter end of June until the 24th of Auguſt, that he aſked me to dine, as is uſually the caſe when any one breakfaſts with the Governor; and the occaſion of my breakfaſting was the delivering a letter of which I ſent you a copy."

It remains now to ſtate what relates to the fact of Col. Stuart's accompanying Lord Pigot in the chaiſe to the place of arreſt; ſeparated from thoſe miſrepreſentations concerning his friendſhip and intimacy with Lord Pigot, which have hitherto conſtantly attended the mention of that fact.

It was on the 23d of Auguſt that Col. Stuart received the orders from the majority of Council, to put them in poſſeſſion of the fortreſs and garriſon of Fort St George, and to arreſt Lord Pigot. Col. Stuart accordingly took his meaſures for ſeizing the fortreſs, and for arreſting the perſon of Lord Pigot, even in the fort, if it could not be otherwiſe accompliſhed; but he foreſaw that this might be attended with very diſagreeable and fatal conſequences.

It therefore became a moſt natural and meritorious wiſh, on Col. Stuart's part, that the moſt effectual means ſhould be uſed to avoid theſe conſequences: there was little time left for deliberation; nor could the matter be allowed to hang over in ſuſpenſe, in expectation of any accidental opportunities of arreſting Lord Pigot's perſon in a private manner; for the ſecret of the orders ſigned by the ſeven members of the majority was already in many hands.

On the 24th of Auguſt, Col. Stuart having learnt that Lord Pigot intended to ſup that evening at the company's garden-houſe, it occurred, that this was an opportunity not to be neglected; and that it afforded the beſt, if not the only chance of arreſting Lord Pigot in a private manner, without tumult or bloodſhed. It was therefore reſolved, that Lord Pigot's carriage ſhould be ſtopped, and his perſon ſecured, when on the road from Madras to the garden-houſe.

The execution of the plan was intruſted to three officers of diſtinguiſhed rank and merit in the company's ſervice, Col. Eidington, the Adjutant-General, Capt. Lyſaught, commanding-officer of a battalion of Sepoys, and Maj. Horne, who commanded the artillery at the Mount; and their inſtructions were, to conduct Lord Pigot to Maj. Horne's houſe at the Mount, there to be under the charge of that officer, and to be treated with every poſſible mark of perſonal atention and reſpect.

The place where Lord Pigot was to be arreſted was very near both to the fort and town of Madras, and to the Seapoy guard at the garden-houſe. The total diſtance from the fort to the garden-houſe is ſomewhat leſs than a mile, and the place choſen for the arreſt was not three quarters of a mile from the fort, and not 200 yards diſtant from the barracks of the Governor's guard at the garden-houſe, which is the place of his reſidence, and where there is always a conſiderable part of a battalion of Sepoys for the Governor's guard. In theſe circumſtances it was not eaſy to foreſee what incidents might poſſibly ariſe to obſtruct or prevent the arreſt in the event of Ld Pigot's

Pigot's making reſiſtance; nor was it eaſy to guard againſt the fatal conſequences that might be produced by a ſcuffle enſuing, where an alarm might ſo ſpeedily be ſpread.

Col. Stuart having given poſitive orders to Col. Eidington and Capt. Lyſaught, to arreſt Lord Pigot that evening, theſe officers would have thought themſelves peremptorily bound in all events to have obeyed theſe orders; nor could they have taken it upon them, if their commanding-officer was not preſent, to vary the orders, or the execution of them, as circumſtances might require.—This was one ſtrong inducement to Col. Stuart to be preſent, and for that purpoſe to accompany Lord Pigot in the chaiſe that evening.—Col. Stuart being the commanding-officer, who had given the orders, he was the only perſon who could adapt the execution of them to the exigency of ſuch circumſtances as might occur; for, in critical affairs of this nature, it often happens, that unexpected circumſtances beyond the reach of human foreſight ariſe in a moment, ſufficient to baffle the beſt-concerted plan, unleſs the remedy be as inſtantly applied.

It occurred alſo to Col. Stuart, that his being in the ſame chaiſe with Lord Pigot, would more eaſily prevent the confuſion which would probably take place from his Lordſhip's attempting to drive his horſes paſt the officers who were ordered to arreſt him, and who were on foot, and in the event of a ſcuffle might very probably have fired into the chaiſe.

No ſituation can be imagined in which more reaſons could concur, for ſtudying every precaution that could poſſibly tend to prevent any alarm, ſtruggle, or confuſion: for if the plan of arreſt had failed in the execution that night, *the very attempt*, whether defeated by reſiſtance and the loſs of lives, or by Lord Pigot's eſcaping from thoſe who had been ordered to arreſt him, muſt have been productive of the greateſt confuſion, and have involved the ſettlement in all the horrors of a civil war.

In ſhort, it appeared to Col. Stuart at that time, and he ſtill continues of the ſame opinion, that it would have been unpardonable in him in his ſituation to ſuffer the apprehenſion of the commentaries which malice, or miſtake, might ſuggeſt, to have outweighed the importance of the various objects and motives of a public nature, as well as the conſiderations of humanity for Lord Pigot himſelf, and for others, which concurred to excite him to this ſtep of attending his Lordſhip in the chaiſe to the place of arreſt.

If the events ſubſequent to the arreſt had ſhewn, that Lord Pigot, by Col. Stuart's attending him in the chaiſe, had been brought into a ſnare which would not otherwiſe have happened;—if the object of it had been to affect his life, or even to expoſe him to more perſonal injury;—or if it had appeared, that Col. Stuart could have been actuated to this particular mode by ſiniſter views, or motives of ſelf-intereſt, and was to receive any perſonal benefits from accompliſhing the arreſt in this manner;—in all or any of theſe caſes, Col. Stuart admits, that the circumſtance of his attending Lord Pigot in the chaiſe ought to be viewed in a very exceptionable light, and to receive every unfavourable interpretation which either has been, or can be beſtowed upon it.——

I ſhall here beg leave to tranſcribe the paragraph of a letter, dated the 14th of September 1777, which I received a conſiderable time ago from my brother, the original of which is at your command.

"I again and again repeat, that no other way than what I followed, ſuggeſted from the moſt tender regard to humanity, and to the ſafety of Lord Pigot's own life, could have effected this arreſt without confuſion or bloodſhed. In the letter I wrote ſeveral weeks ago, I have entered particularly into the mode of my ſeizing Lord Pigot, in anſwer to the paper printed here; I ſhall here add, and declare the ſame before God, that not an uncivil or improper word fell from my mouth on that occaſion. When the Adjutant-General ſtopped the chaiſe, in which I was along with Lord Pigot, he (Lord Pigot) made a ſhort pauſe, and was looking about him; we were then in the middle of the road, at a very ſmall diſtance from the Sepoy guard at his garden-houſe, and many ſervants round the chaiſe, and many people paſſing in the road.—The moment was critical, not only becauſe the leaſt noiſe extraordinary would have alarmed, but what is particular, as the reins were in his hands, and the horſes very ſpirited, he might have forced them on, in ſpite of me; and the certain conſequence would have been his getting home; and myſelf, with all the officers or others, who, with me, thought it our duty to obey the majority

rity as the legal government, muſt have been diſmiſſed the ſervice, or tried for our lives. This led me, on obſerving a kind of heſitation to obey on the part of Lord Pigot, forthwith to ſeize the reins with one hand, and put my other hand to his arm: to the beſt of my recollection, the preciſe words I made uſe of were, "*My Lord, you muſt go out.*" They were uttered, not in a brutal or contemptuous tone of voice, but with the tone of reſpect as well as anxiety.—Lord Pigot then inſtantly went out, without my ſaying one word more, or his making any anſwer."——

I ſhall conclude what relates to this ſubject, by barely mentioning the ſtrong and marked approbation, which the whole of Col. Stuart's conduct, at that difficult criſis, received from the Governor-General, the Commander in Chief, and Supreme Council in Bengal [39. 221], to whom a ſuperintending power over all the company's ſettlements in India, both in matters civil and military, was delegated by the authority of parliament.

That ſupreme council had the beſt opportunities of being particularly and impartially informed of all the facts, and circumſtances, which gave occaſion to, which preceded, and accompanied the arreſt of Lord Pigot; and after receiving the fulleſt information from both parties, and from Lord Pigot himſelf, they gave their complete approbation, not only of the reſolution taken by the majority of Council at Madras, of aſſerting their rights, and aſſuming the government, but of the mode in which that reſolution had been executed.

The letters of Sir John Clavering, of the 15th, and of Gov. Haſtings, of the 18th of September 1776, which were publiſhed when theſe diſputes were recent in this country, prove, that, beſides a general approbation in Council, they both gave great credit to Col. Stuart, for the mode in which the orders of the majority of Council had been carried into execution, *without bloodſhed, without tumult, and without the violation of one legal form.* Theſe are the words of Gov. Haſtings' letter to Mr Stratton, wherein he expreſſes himſelf in the ſtrongeſt terms, conſidering it as a thing almoſt without example; and in the letter from Sir John Clavering to Col. Stuart, of the 15th of September, there is not only an approbation of his conduct, but, in terms the moſt flattering, Sir John Clavering gives him applauſe for the *honour* of conducting *ſo difficult and dangerous a buſineſs*, and for the *ſpirit* and *magnanimity* with which he had executed it.

It is well known, that no man could poſſibly poſſeſs a higher ſenſe of honour, as well as of propriety and delicacy of conduct, than the late Sir John Clavering; and when we ſee, that ſuch diſtinguiſhed marks of approbation were beſtowed by him upon Col. Stuart, for the whole of his conduct, it ought at leaſt to go a great way in counteracting the prejudices which have been ſo induſtriouſly ſpread, and to ſatisfy the world, that, in the mode of arreſting Lord Pigot, and of carrying the orders of Council into execution, there had been nothing done that was in any degree improper, or unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman."

ANECDOTE of M. RACINE, *the celebrated French Poet.*

M. RACINE being one day juſt returned from Verſailles, where he had been upon a viſit, was waited upon by a gentleman with an invitation to him to dine at the *Hotel de Conde.* "I cannot poſſibly have the honour to go there (ſaid the poet); it is a week ſince I have been with my wife and children; they are overjoyed to ſee me again, and have provided a very fine carp, ſo that I muſt dine with thoſe dear relatives." "But my good Sir, (replied the gentleman), ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters in the kingdom expect your company, and will be very glad to ſee you." On this M. Racine fetched out the carp, and ſhewed it to his viſitor, ſaying, "Here, Sir, is our little meal; then ſay, having provided ſuch a treat for me, what apology could I make for not dining with my poor children? Neither they nor my wife could have any pleaſure in eating a bit of it without me: then pray be ſo obliging as to mention my excuſe to the Prince of Conde, and my other illuſtrious friends." The gentleman did ſo; and not only his Serene Highneſs, but all the company preſent, profeſſed themſelves infinitely more charmed with this proof of the poet's affectionate tenderneſs as a huſband and a father, than they poſſibly could have been with his delightful converſation.

The

The History of 1777, continued. [131.]

CANADA.

We now turn from exemplifying victory without equivalent advantage in one quarter, to behold the moſt miſchievous conſequences of defeat in another. The war upon the ſide of Canada and the lakes, was committed to the charge of Lt-Gen. Burgoyne; an officer whoſe ability was unqueſtioned, and whoſe ſpirit of enterpriſe, and thirſt for military glory, however rivalled, could not poſſibly be exceeded.

This appointment, however palliated or juſtified by the propriety or ſuppoſed neceſſity of the Governor's conſtant reſidence in his province, could not fail of being ſenſibly felt, and could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed not to give umbrage to Gen. Carleton, to whoſe abilities and reſolution this nation in general acknowledged, and the world attributed, the preſervation of Canada [40. 290.]. It was ſaid, that his powers had been diminiſhed in proportion to the greatneſs of his ſervices. His military command extended before to every part of America, whither he might find it fitting to conduct the army under his direction. It was now ſuddenly reſtrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had, ſaid his friends, in the preceding campaign, not only driven the enemy out of Canada, but a great naval armament had been formed, the enemy's force on Lake Champlain deſtroyed, and Crown-point recovered, under his authority. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon only prevented him from attacking Ticonderoga, and immediately proſecuting the war to the ſouthward. He had, during the winter, exerted his uſual induſtry, and applied his military ſkill and judgement, in the forwarding of every preparation which might conduce to the ſucceſs of the deſign in the enſuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, inſtead of the reinforcement which he had required and expected for the completion of his purpoſe, he received an arrangement totally new, which, as it had been framed without any reference to his judgement, or attention to his approbation, left nothing to his diſcretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in each of which the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular ſervice of each corps, with its ſubdiviſions, and the ſmalleſt detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and preciſely ſpecified by the miniſter. He was not even conſulted as to the number or nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the defence or ſecurity of Canada. In a word, the army which he had lately commanded was taken out of his, and placed in other hands; and officers who lately acted under his direction, were, by a detraction from his authority, virtually placed in independent commands: for their inſtructions to put themſelves under the orders of Sir William Howe, ſeemed little more than a mockery; as that General had informed Sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign on his ſide would lead him to ſuch a diſtance as to render any communication of that nature impracticable.

That the Governor felt and underſtood this arrangement and theſe appointments in the manner we have related from the complaints of his friends in England, ſeems evident from the immediate reſignation of his government, which then took place [39. 509, 624.]; but as the notification, the appointment of another, and the paſſage of his ſucceſſor from Europe, were all works of time, he was ſtill, however ungrateful the taſk, obliged to continue in the exerciſe of his office during a longer period than that of which we are treating.

Under theſe circumſtances, and in this trying and difficult ſituation, he endeavoured to ſhew, that reſentment could not warp him from his duty; and he applied himſelf with the ſame diligence and energy, to forward by every poſſible means, and to ſupport in all its parts the expedition, as if the arrangement was entirely his own. This conduct, however praiſe-worthy, was not leſs neceſſary, from the peculiar nature of the ſervice which was to be performed; a ſervice exceedingly complicated in the arrangement, uncommonly numerous in the parts, and very unuſual in practice. It will not be difficult to conceive how effectually negligence, diſlike, obſtinacy, or even a colourable and rational difference of opinion in ſome diſputable points, might fruſtrate all the hopes founded upon ſuch a ſyſtem.

Nothing of this ſort intervened, to damp the ſpirit or to defeat the ſucceſs of the expedition. The preparations were carried on with vigour.

We have before taken notice, that the

miniſters, and more particularly the Noble Lord at the head of the American department, were not only particularly intereſted in the event, but had founded the moſt ſanguine hopes upon the ſucceſs of this expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their ſide, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be ſpared for that particular ſervice, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. Beſides, Canada it was hoped would ſupply a warlike though undiſciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted with, the peculiar nature of the ſervice and country.

To ſtrengthen and increaſe this irregular but neceſſary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided, to ſupply thoſe numerous loyaliſts who were expected to join the royal army as ſoon as it approached or penetrated the frontiers of the adjacent provinces. As a powerful artillery is conſidered to be the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undiſciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in difficult poſts, and driven out of woods and faſtneſſes; ſo this part of the ſervice was particularly attended to; and the braſs train that was ſent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the fineſt, and probably the moſt excellently ſupplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to ſecond the operations of any army which did not far exceed the preſent in number.

Beſides theſe forces, ſeveral nations of ſavages had been induced to come into the field. This meaſure was defended upon the ſuppoſed neceſſity of the caſe; as, from their character, it was preſumed they could not lie ſtill; and if not engaged in the King's ſervice, would have joined the Americans. Whatever advantages were hoped from them, Gen. Carleton did not in the preceding year make much uſe of them; but civilly diſmiſſed them at the cloſe of the campaign, on a promiſe of their appearing in the next if required. There has been a good deal of diſcuſſion, which we want materials to ſettle, how far he approved of their employment at all. The friends of miniſtry ſaid, that he had recommended and forwarded the meaſure. Others ſaid, that, partly from humanity, partly from his forming a juſt eſtimate of their ſervices, and knowing by experience the extent of their powers and ability in war, he was unwilling to uſe them, knowing that they were capricious, inconſtant, and intractable; that as their ideas of war and of courage were totally different from thoſe of civilized nations, ſo, notwithſtanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible ſpecimens of paſſive valour which they ſometimes exhibited in caſes adapted to their own opinions, they not only abhorred, but dreaded, whatever is conſidered as fair and generous ſervice among Europeans, wherein the contending parties bravely ſeek and are included in one common danger, truſting only for ſucceſs to their ſuperior ſkill and courage; that their object and deſign in all wars, was not to fight, but to murder; not to conquer, but to deſtroy: in a word, that their ſervice was uncertain, their rapacity inſatiate, their faith ever doubtful, and their action cruel and barbarous.

Whatever his reaſons were for not employing them in a more early and effectual manner, if it were in his power to do it as early and effectually as was imagined, this conduct was far from being generally approved of at home. Thoſe who were particularly warm in their zeal againſt the colonies, began ſomewhat to forget their natural humanity in their anger. They inſiſted, that every appearance of lenience in ſuch circumſtances was actual cruelty in the effect, by acting as an incentive to diſobedience, and increaſing the objects of puniſhment; that, on the contrary, partial ſeverity was general mercy; as timely exertions of juſtice, and ſtrict inflictions of puniſhment, were at all times the ſure means of preventing crimes; that the only method of ſpeedily cruſhing the rebellion, was to render the ſituation of the actors in it ſo intolerable, that a ceſſation from danger, and the bleſſings of repoſe, ſhould become the only objects of their contemplation and hope; that the means were but little to be attended to, when they led to the accompliſhment of ſo great and happy a purpoſe, as the deſtruction of rebellion, and the reſtoration of order and legal government; and that, in all convulſions of ſtates, the innocent were too frequently involved in the calamities which were intended or wiſhed to be confined entirely to the guilty; but ſuch was the lot and condition of mankind, and this evil, however deplored, could not, in numberleſs inſtances, be avoided or prevented. This doctrine was ſupported by the avowed

vowed friends of government, whether out of office, or in the ſubordinate departments of the ſtate; it was alſo generally ſuppoſed to be conſonant to the opinions of the miniſters, and that Gen. Carleton's ſcruples or niceties upon this point were by no means acceptable.

However this was, in the preſent arrangement 'the aid of the ſavages was conſidered as a principal member of that force which was deſtined to the proſecution of the northern war, and the Governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to uſe his utmoſt weight and influence in bringing the Indian nations forward in ſupport of the expedition. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this duty, as it was in every other which appertained to the preſent ſervice. Nor was his ſucceſs diſproportioned to his zeal. Whether it proceeded from the Governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to ſeize the preſents which were now liberally diſtributed amongſt them, from their own innate thirſt for war and plunder, or more probably from the joint operation of all theſe cauſes, their remote as well as near nations poured forth their warriors in ſuch abundance, that he became at length apprehenſive, that their numbers might render them an incumbrance rather than an aid to the army.

The regular force allotted to the expedition conducted by Gen. Burgoyne, conſiſting of Britiſh and German troops, amounted to 7173 men, excluſive of the artillery-corps. Of theſe, the German corps (conſiſting moſtly of Brunſwickers) amounted to 3217. The force required by that General in the propoſals which he laid before the miniſter, conſiſted of 8000 regulars, rank and file, beſides the artillery, a corps of watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hatchetmen, and other workmen, with a thouſand, or more, ſavages. We have no certain information what numbers of theſe auxiliaries were in actual ſervice upon the expedition.

Canada was largely rated, and its inhabitants muſt have ſenſibly felt the proportion which they were allotted to contribute towards this ſervice. In the propoſals laid before the miniſter, beſides the militia, and various ſpecies of workmen, ſuppoſed neceſſary to be immediately attached to the army, and to accompany it on the expedition, chains of their militia, patroles, and poſts, were expected to occupy the woods in the frontiers on the rear of the army, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill-affected in Canada, partly to prevent deſertion, and to procure intelligence, and for various other duties neceſſary towards keeping the country in quiet. Another great call upon them, was for workmen to complete the fortifications at Sorel, St John's, Chamblee, and Iſle au Noix, which it was ſuppoſed would amount to 2000 men. A ſtill greater call upon the Canadians, and the more grievous, as it was at their ſeed-ſowing ſeaſon, was for the tranſport of all the proviſions, artillery, ſtores, and baggage of the army, from the different repoſitories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying-places, beſides the corvees for making the roads. It was eſtimated that this ſervice would, for ſome time before, and at the opening of the campaign, require no leſs than 2000 men, beſides a very large proportion of horſes and carts.

Gen. Burgoyne was ſeconded by able and excellent officers. Of theſe, Maj.-Gen. Philips of the artillery, who had gained ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown by his conduct in that ſervice during the late war in Germany, deſerves to be particularly mentioned. He was likewiſe aſſiſted by the Brig.-Gen^{s} Fraſer, Powel, and Hamilton, all diſtinguiſhed officers, with the Brunſwick Maj.-Gen. Baron Reideſel, and Brig.-Gen. Specht. The army was, in every reſpect, in the beſt condition that could poſſibly be expected or wiſhed, the troops being in the higheſt ſpirits, admirably diſciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The detachment on the expedition to the Mohawk river under Col. St Leger, did not probably exceed ſeven or eight hundred men, conſiſting of 200 drawn from the 8th and 34th regiments, a regiment of New-Yorkers, lately raiſed by, and under the command of, Sir John Johnſton, being moſtly emigrants from his own country adjoining to the intended ſcene of action, with ſome Hannau chaſſeurs, a company of Canadians, and another of newly-raiſed rangers. Theſe were joined by a ſtrong body of ſavages, in part conducted, or if it may be termed officered, by a number of Britiſh and Americans. The regular force left in Canada, including the Highland emigrants under that denomination, amounted to about 3700 men.

The army being at length arrived and encamped at the River Bouquet, on the weſt ſide of Lake Champlain, and at no very great diſtance to the northward of Crown-point, Gen. Burgoyne there met the Indians in congreſs; and afterwards, in compliance with the cuſtoms of thoſe people, gave them a war-feaſt. The ſpeech which he made to the ſavages upon this occaſion, June 21. 1777, [40. 130.] has been publiſhed. It was calculated, in thoſe powerful ſtrains of elocution by which that gentleman is diſtinguiſhed, to excite their ardour in the common cauſe, and at the ſame time to repreſs their barbarity. For this purpoſe he took pains in explaining to them the diſtinction between a war carried on againſt a common enemy, in which the whole country and people were hoſtile, and the preſent, in which good and faithful ſubjects were largely, and of neceſſity, intermixed with rebels and traitors. Upon this principle he laid down ſeveral injunctions for the government of their conduct; particularly, that they ſhould only kill thoſe who were oppoſed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and priſoners, ſhould be held ſacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they ſhould only ſcalp thoſe whom they had ſlain in fair oppoſition; but that under no pretence, ſubtlety, or colour of prevarication, they ſhould ſcalp the wounded, or even dying; much leſs kill perſons in that condition, by way of evading the injunction: and they were promiſed a compenſation for priſoners; but informed, that they ſhould be called to account for ſcalps. Theſe endeavours did in ſome meaſure mitigate, but were not of force wholly to reſtrain their ferocity; of which ſome unhappy inſtances afterwards appeared.

The General ſoon after diſperſed a manifeſto, [39. 368, 517.], calculated to ſpread terror among the contumacious; and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impreſſion of fear derived from knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the ſavages; whoſe numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerneſs to be let looſe to their prey deſcribed with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now ſpread by ſea and land, to embrace or to cruſh every part of America, was diſplayed in full, lofty, and expreſſive language. The rebellion, with its effects, and the conduct of the preſent governors and governments, were charged with the higheſt colouring, and exhibited a moſt hideous picture of unparalleled injuſtice, cruelty, perſecution, and tyranny. Encouragement and employment were aſſured to thoſe who, with a diſpoſition and ability ſuited to the purpoſe, ſhould actually aſſiſt in redeeming their country from ſlavery, and in the re-eſtabliſhment of legal government. Protection and ſecurity, clogged with conditions, reſtricted by circumſtances, and rather imperfectly or inexplicitly expreſſed, were held out to the peaceable and induſtrious, who continued in their habitations: and all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their moſt terrific forms, were denounced againſt thoſe who perſevered in their hoſtility.

The army having made a ſhort ſtay at Crown-point, for the eſtabliſhment of magazines, an hoſpital, and other neceſſary ſervices, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to inveſt Ticonderoga, which was the firſt object of their deſtination. Although the raſh and ill-conducted attempt made upon that place in the year 1758 [20. 436, 491.], with the conſequent repulſe and heavy loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh army, rendered it at that time an object of general attention, it may not at this diſtance of time be wholly unneceſſary to take ſome notice of its ſituation, as well as of its ſtate of defence *.

Ticonderoga lies on the weſtern ſhore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown-point lies about a dozen miles further north, at the extremity of that inlet. The firſt of theſe places is ſituated on an angle of land, which is ſurrounded on three ſides by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth ſide was covered by a deep moraſs; and where that fails, the old French lines ſtill continued as a defence on the north-weſt quarter. The Americans ſtrengthened theſe lines with additional works and a blockhouſe. They had other poſts with works and blockhouſes on the left, towards Lake George. To the right of the French lines they

* [See a plan of the country, encampments, attack, &c. in the Scots Magazine, vol. 20. p. 436.]

had

had alſo two new blockhouſes, with other works.

On the eaſtern ſhore of the inlet, and oppoſite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken ſtill more pains in fortifying a high circular hill, to which they gave the name of *Mount Independence*. On the ſummit of this, which is Table-land, they had erected a ſtar fort, incloſing a large ſquare of barracks, well fortified and ſupplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the weſt ſide projected into the water, was ſtrongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery. A battery about half-way up the mount, ſuſtained and covered theſe lower works.

The Americans, with their uſual induſtry, had joined theſe two poſts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This was, like many other of their performances, a great and moſt laborious work. The bridge was ſupported on twenty-two ſunken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal diſtances: the ſpaces between theſe were filled with ſeparate floats, each about fifty feet long, and twelve feet wide, ſtrongly faſtened together with chains and rivets, and as effectually attached to the ſunken pillars. On the Lake-Champlain ſide of the bridge it was defended by a boom, compoſed of very large pieces of timber, faſtened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half ſquare. Thus not only a communication was maintained between theſe two poſts, but all acceſs by water from the northern ſide was totally cut off.

It is to be obſerved, that as the inlet, immediately after paſſing Ticonderoga, aſſumes a new form, ſuddenly widening to a conſiderable breadth, and becoming navigable to veſſels of burden; ſo from thence it alſo holds the name of *Champlain*, although it is not yet properly a part of the lake. On the other hand, the ſouthern gut from Lake George, beſides being narrow, is alſo rendered unnavigable by ſhallows and falls; but on its arrival at Ticonderoga, it is joined by a great body of water on the eaſtern ſide, called, in this part, *South river*, but higher up towards its ſource, before the junction of the elder branch with the younger, which runs from South bay, it is known under the appellation of *Wood creek*. The confluence of theſe waters at Ticonderoga, forms a ſmall bay to the ſouthward of the bridge of communication; and the point of land formed by their junction is compoſed of a mountain called *Sugar hill*.

Notwithſtanding the apparent ſtrength of Ticonderoga from what we have hitherto ſeen, it is entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded, by Sugar hill. This circumſtance occaſioned a conſultation among the Americans as to the fortifying of that mount; but their works were already far too extenſive for their powers of defence, and would require ten or twelve thouſand men to be effectually manned. It was likewiſe hoped, that the difficulty of acceſs to the Sugar mount, and the ſavage inequality of its ſurface, would prevent the enemy from attempting to profit of its ſituation.

It would be exceedingly difficult, from the information before us, to form any authentic eſtimate of the number of Americans that were in the actual defence of theſe two poſts. It appears by the commander in chief, Gen. St Clair's exculpatory letter to the congreſs, as well as by the reſolutions of the council of war, which accompanies it [39. 473, 475.], that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, was only about 3000 men; that theſe were ill equipped, and worſe armed, particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm ſo eſſential in the defence of lines, that they had not one to ten of their number. This account would ſeem not only ſatisfactory but concluſive, if it had not been contradicted by others. In a detail of the tranſactions of the campaign, tranſmitted by the war-office of Maſſachuſſet's-bay to the American deputies in France, and for the conveyance of which a light ſhip was ſent out on purpoſe, they ſtate St Clair's force at near 5000 men well equipped and armed. It is, however, to be obſerved, that they talk with great bitterneſs of that General's conduct, as he had done, in his firſt letter to congreſs, with reſpect to the behaviour of two of their regiments. It may alſo be ſuppoſed, that in a ſtatement of their affairs, intended to operate upon the ſentiments, and conduct of a court from which they already received eſſential benefits, and looked forward to much greater, they would rather increaſe the weight of blame upon an unfortunate officer, than detract from the public opinion of their own conduct and power, by attributing weakneſs to their councils, or inefficacy to their arms.

As

As the royal army approached to the object of its deſtination, it advanced with equal caution and order on both ſides of the lake, the naval force keeping its ſtation in the centre, until the one had begun to incloſe the enemy on the land-ſide, and the frigates and gun-boats caſt anchor juſt out of cannon-ſhot from their works. Upon the near approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga ſide, upon the 2d of July, the Americans immediately abandoned and ſet fire to their works, block-houſes, and ſaw-mills, towards Lake George, and, without ſally, interruption, or the ſmalleſt motion of diverſion, permitted Maj.-Gen. Phillips to take poſſeſſion of the very advantageous poſt of Mount Hope; which, beſides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. The ſame ſupineneſs and total want of vigour appeared in every thing on their ſide, except in the keeping up of an ineffectual roar of cannon, which was ſo much contemned on the other as not to be once returned.

In the mean while, the royal army proceeded with ſuch expedition in the conſtruction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, and the eſtabliſhment of its poſts and communications, that by the 5th matters were ſo far advanced as to require little more time for completely inveſting the poſts on both ſides of the lake. Sugar hill was alſo examined, and the advantages it preſented were ſo important, though attended with infinite labour and difficulty, from the neceſſity of making a road to its top through very rough ground, and conſtructing a level there for a battery, that this arduous taſk was undertaken, and already far advanced towards its completion, through the ſpirit, judgement, and active induſtry of Gen. Phillips.

In theſe circumſtances, a haſty council was on that day held by the American generals; to which their principal went, as he informs us, already predetermined as to his conduct. It was repreſented, that their whole effective numbers were not ſufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole muſt conſequently be upon conſtant duty, it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the fatigue for any length of time; and that as the enemy's batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely inveſted on all ſides within twenty-four hours, nothing could ſave the troops but an immediate evacuation of both poſts. This determination was unanimouſly agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated on that night.

However juſtly this repreſentation of their condition and circumſtances was founded, and however neceſſary the determination of the council was in the preſent ſtate of their affairs, one apparently capital error on the ſide of the commanders muſt ſtrike every common obſerver. If their force was not ſufficient for the defence of the works, why did they not form this reſolution in time? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and ſtores, and demoliſh the works, before the arrival of the enemy? Why did they wait to be nearly ſurrounded, until their retreat was more ruinous than a ſurrender under any conditions that could be propoſed, and little leſs deſtructive in the event, than if the works had been carried by ſtorm?

Theſe are queſtions that time and better information alone can anſwer, if ever they ſhould clearly anſwer, in favour of the American generals.

The baggage of the army, with ſuch artillery, ſtores, and proviſions, as the neceſſity of the time would permit, were embarked with a ſtrong detachment on board above 200 batteaux, and diſpatched, under convoy of five armed gallies, up the South river, in their way to Skeneſborough. The main army took its route by the way of Caſtletown, to reach the ſame place by land.

The firſt light of the morning, July 6. had no ſooner diſcovered the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly purſued by Brig.-Gen. Fraſer, at the head of his brigade, conſiſting of the light troops, grenadiers, and ſome other corps. Maj.-Gen. Reideſel was alſo ordered to join in the purſuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunſwick troops, either to ſupport the Brigadier, or to act ſeparately, as occaſion might require, or circumſtances direct. The enemy left a prodigious artillery behind them, which with thoſe taken or deſtroyed in the armed veſſels at Skeneſborough, amounted to no leſs than 128 pieces, of all ſorts, ſerviceable and unſerviceable. They alſo left ſome military ſtores of different ſorts, and no inconſiderable ſtock of proviſions in the forts.

Gen.

Gen. Burgoyne conducted the purſuit by water in perſon. That bridge and thoſe works which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in leſs time by the Britiſh ſeamen and artificers, than it would have coſt them to have deſcribed their ſtructure. In a word, they did their buſineſs with ſuch ſpeed and effect, that not only the gun-boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had paſſed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the veſſels; and the purſuit up the river was ſupported with ſuch vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon the foremoſt brigade of the gun-boats was cloſely engaged with the enemy's gallies near Skeneſborough falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South bay, aſcended, and paſſed a mountain with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their ſpeedy flight prevented the execution of that deſign. Upon the approach of the frigates, the gallies, which were already overborne by the gun-boats, loſt all ſpirit; two of them were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The rebels now giving way to their deſpair, ſet fire to their works, ſtockaded fort, mills, and batteaux, after which they eſcaped as well as they could up the Wood creek. This ſtroke ſeemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army, for the batteaux were deeply loaded, beſides their baggage, with ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions; ſo that they were now left naked in the woods, deſtitute of proviſion, and without any other means of defence than what they derived from the arms in their hands.

Confuſion and diſmay equally attended their main body on the left. The ſoldiers had loſt all reſpect for, and confidence in, their commanders. It would be fruitleſs to expect reſolution, where no order nor command could be maintained.

Brig. Fraſer continued and ſupported the chace, through the vehement heat of a burning day, with his uſual activity and vigour. Having received intelligence that the enemy's rear were at no great diſtance, and were commanded by Col. Francis, one of their beſt and braveſt officers, his troops lay that night on their arms. He came up with the enemy at five in the morning, July 7. whom he found ſtrongly poſted, with great advantage of ground, and a ſtill greater ſuperiority in point of number. As he expected every moment to be joined by Gen. Reideſel, and was apprehenſive that the enemy might eſcape if he delayed, he did not heſitate to begin the attack. The advantages which they poſſeſſed in ground and number, and, perhaps more than both, the goodneſs of their commander, induced them to make a better ſtand than might have been expected from their condition in other reſpects.

As Fraſer's corps was not ſupported near ſo ſoon as had been expected, the engagement was long; and though the light infantry and grenadiers gave ſeveral ſtriking proofs of their ſuperiority, affairs were ſtill undecided and critical. The arrival of the Germans was at length deciſive. The enemy fled on all ſides, leaving their brave commander, with many other officers, and above 200 private men, dead on the field. About the ſame number, beſides a colonel, ſeven captains, and ten ſubalterns, were taken priſoners. Above 600 were ſuppoſed to be wounded, many of whom periſhed miſerably in the woods. The principal loſs on the ſide of the royal army was that of Maj. Grant, a brave officer, who was killed. St Clair, with the van of the American army, was at this time at Caſtletown, about ſix miles farther on. Upon the account of this diſaſter, and of the more fatal ſtroke at Skeneſborough, and under the apprehenſion of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he ſtruck on to the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he ſhould direct his courſe towards the New-England provinces and the upper part of the Connecticut, or to Fort Edward.

During theſe advantages on the left, Col. Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skeneſborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood creek, whilſt another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to diſlodge the enemy from that poſt. In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a body of the enemy, conſiſting, as he conceived, of ſix times the number of his detachment, who finding all their efforts in front ineffectual to force the judicious poſition which he had taken, attempted to ſurround the regiment. This

alarming

alarming attempt put him under a neceſſity of changing his ground in the heat of action. Nothing leſs than the moſt perfect diſcipline, ſupported by the coolеſt intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute ſo critical a movement in the face of the enemy, and in ſuch circumſtances. It was however performed with ſuch ſteadineſs and effect, that the enemy, after an attack of three hours, were ſo totally repulſed, and with ſuch loſs, that after ſetting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudſon's river.

The loſs of the royal army, in all this ſervice, and in ſo many different engagements, ſome of which were warm, and ſeemed liable to loſs, was very ſmall. The whole in killed and wounded not much exceeding 200 men.

Such was the rapid torrent of ſucceſs, which ſwept every thing away before the northern army in its outſet. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their fortune, and deemed that and their proweſs to be irreſiſtible; if they regarded their enemy with the greateſt contempt, conſidered their own toils to be nearly at an end, Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of ſome time, than an arduous talk, full of difficulty and danger.

At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all thoſe who hoped or wiſhed the unqualified ſubjugation, and unconditional ſubmiſſion, of the colonies. The loſs in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal conſequences, than even that of ground, of poſts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and moſt degrading charges which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the reſolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Thoſe who ſtill regarded them as men, and who had not yet loſt all affection to them as brethren, who alſo retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon conſtitutional principles, without ſacrificing the dignity or the juſt authority of government on the one ſide, or a derelection of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impoſſible, notwithſtanding their favourable diſpoſitions in general, could not help feeling upon this occaſion, that the Americans ſunk not a little in their eſtimation. It was not difficult to diffuſe an opinion, that the war in effect was over; and that any further reſiſtance would ſerve only to render the terms of their ſubmiſſion the worſe. Such were ſome of the immediate effects of the loſs of thoſe grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes.

Gen. Burgoyne continued for ſome days, with the army partly at Skeneſborough, and partly ſpread in the adjoining country. They were under the neceſſity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and proviſions. In the mean time, no labour was ſpared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing againſt the enemy. Equal induſtry was uſed in clearing the Wood creek from the obſtacles of fallen trees, ſunken ſtones, and other impediments which had been laid in the way by the enemy, in order to open a paſſage for batteaux, for the conveyance of artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and camp-equipage. Nor was leſs diligence uſed at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, proviſion-veſſels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. Theſe were all laborious works, but the ſpirit of the army was at that time ſuperior to toil or danger.

Gen. Schuyler was at Fort Edward upon the Hudſon's river, where he was endeavouring to collect the militia, and had been joined by St Clair, with the wretched remains of his army, who had taken a round-about march of ſeven days through the woods, in which, from the exceeding badneſs of the weather, with the want of covering, proviſions, and all manner of neceſſaries, they had ſuffered the moſt extreme miſery. Many others of the fugitives had alſo arrived; but ſo totally broken down, that they were nearly as deſtitute of arms, ammunition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, and ſpirit, to uſe them with effect.

Although the direct diſtance from Fort Anne, where the batteaux navigation on Wood creek determined, or even from Skeneſborough, to Fort Edward, was no greater, than what in England would be conſidered as a moderate ride of exerciſe; yet ſuch is the ſavage face and impracticable nature of the country [39. 513.] and ſuch were the artificial difficulties which the induſtry of the enemy had

thrown

thrown in the way, that the progreſs of the army thither was a work of much preparation, time, and labour. It will ſcarcely be believed in after times, and may now be received with difficulty in any other part of the world, that it coſt an active and ſpirited army, without an enemy in force to impede its progreſs, not many fewer days in paſſing from one part to another of a country, than the diſtance, in a direct line, would have meaſured miles. Yet ſuch, however extraordinary, is the fact. Beſides that the country was a wilderneſs in almoſt every part of the paſſage, the enemy had cut large timber trees in ſuch a manner, on both ſides of the road, as to fall acroſs and lengthwiſe, with their branches interwoven; ſo that the troops had ſeveral layers of theſe frequently to remove, in places where they could not poſſibly take any other direction. The face of the country was likewiſe ſo broken with creeks and marſhes, that in that ſhort ſpace they had no leſs than forty bridges to conſtruct, beſides others to repair; and one of theſe was of log-work, over a moraſs two miles in extent. All theſe toils and difficulties were encountered and overcome by the troops with their uſual ſpirit and alacrity. The enemy were too weak, too much diſpirited, and probably too much afraid of the Indians, to add very materially to theſe difficulties. Some ſkirmiſhing and firing there was, however, on every day's march; in which, as uſual, they conſtantly came off loſers.

It is true, that Gen. Burgoyne might have adopted another route to Hudſon's river, by which moſt of theſe particular difficulties would have been avoided. By returning down the South river to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort which takes its name, and lies at its head, from whence there is a waggon-road to Fort Edward. To this it was objected, and probably with reaſon, that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation, of the troops, to call them off from the proſecution of their ſucceſs to a cold and ſpiritleſs voyage; and that their expedition would undoubtedly be checked by the reſiſtance and delay which they muſt expect at Fort George: whereas when the garriſon perceived that the army was marching in a direction which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would undoubtedly conſult their ſafety in time, by abandoning the poſt.

The enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga, at the approach of the royal army, which, from the impediments we have ſeen in the march, was not until the end of July. The enthuſiaſm of the army, as well as of the general, upon their arrival on the Hudſon's river, which had been ſo long the object of their hopes and wiſhes, may be better conceived than deſcribed. As the enemy, by previouſly abandoning Fort George, and burning their veſſels, had left the lake entirely open, a great imbarkation of proviſions, ſtores, and neceſſaries, was already arrived at that poſt from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly fully and immediately employed, in tranſporting theſe articles, with artillery, batteaux, and ſuch other matters as they judged neceſſary for the proſecution of their future meaſures, from Fort George to Hudſon's river.

Spirited Anſwer of an Engliſh Ambaſſador.

PRide and inſolence are allowed to be the leading features in the character of the Spaniſh Dons. In Spain, from the monarch upon the throne, to the loweſt of his vaſſal-ſubjects, every rank is infected, in a greater or leſs degree, with thoſe obnoxious qualities. From thoſe who approach the royal preſence, the moſt abject ſubmiſſions are ſometimes required, ſubmiſſions which but ill accord with the temper and genius of their Engliſh viſitors.—The ambaſſador from England, on being preſented to one of the Kings of Spain, was told to do ſome particular homage, which, as being too humiliating for the character he had the honour to bear, he begged leave to decline. Highly piqued at this imaginary inſult, and deſirous of putting the ambaſſor out of countenance for it, the King cried aloud to the courtiers around him, "What! has my good brother of England no other men in his court, that he has ſent me a *fool* to repreſent him?" —"O! yes, may it pleaſe your Majeſty, (replied our countryman), my maſter has many men about him far wiſer than I; but he makes it an invariable rule, to ſuit every *ambaſſador* to the *king* at whoſe court he is to reſide."

PARLIAMENT. [135, 140.]

On the 24th of February, the Commons being in a committee, Mr Ord in the chair, Lord North opened the budget. He ſtated the ſums already voted, for the ſervice of the current year, for the navy, the army, the ordnance, &c.; the amount of which in the groſs (tho' he firſt ſpecified the ſums ſeverally) was L. 11,905,249 : 7 : 6 : 1; to make up which ſum in part, the ways and means already granted by the land tax, malt-tax, and ſo forth, there would be produced the ſum of L. 2,750,000: ſo that there remained to be voted for the ſupplies already granted, L. 9,155,249, 7 s. 6 d. 1 f. At the ſame time, the ſupplies already voted, he ſaid, he was ſenſible, would not be ſufficient for the neceſſities of the year, and there would be a further ſum required. The extraordinaries he could not yet aſcertain. It was rather out of the common way to deſer that part of what was vulgarly called the budget, though it had been the practice in the laſt war, and was the neceſſary conſequence of war. However, he believed, at conjectural calculation, that the ſum of L. 3,600,000, and odd money, would be ſufficient; which, with the deficiencies of laſt year, amounting to L. 513,375 : 17 : 4 : 1, made the whole amount of the ſum that would be required for the ſervice of the preſent year, L. 15,870,900, and odd pounds. His Lordſhip gave a very particular account of the negotiation he had had with the ſubſcribers in ſettling the loan; and he informed the Houſe, that through the loſs they had ſuſtained in the ſubſcription of laſt year, and other circumſtances, the terms were exceeding high, and he could get no more than L. 7,000,000. He could have wiſhed to have got the loan fixed at L. 8,000,000; but it not being agreeable to the monied men, and they having in ſome degree a claim of compenſation for the loſs they had ſuſtained in the laſt ſubſcription, he had accepted of their offer; and it was as follows:

	L.	s.	d.	f.
100 l. 3 per cent. conſol. val. at 60 l. 5 s. - -	60	5	0	0
3 l. 15 s. annuity for 29 years, at 11 7-16ths years purchaſe,	42	17	9	1
7 lottery tickets to every 1000 ſubſcribed; which will bring a profit to every 100 of -	2	1	0	0
L.	105	4	9	1

He defended theſe terms, not on account of their lowneſs, but as the moſt eligible in our preſent circumſtances; and in particular he praiſed the advantages of a ſhort annuity, which paid the debt in a certain period, and fell in moſt advantageouſly for the nation: That a payment of 15 per cent. was to be made next Tueſday, two more payments of 15 per cent. in the month of March, and that the whole was to be paid by the end of October. His Lordſhip took a glance at the ſtate of the finance of France, and declared that her revenue was not equal to her expenditure. He took notice alſo of the American war, mentioned the neceſſity of carrying it on, the probability of our ſucceſs, and the power of raiſing the money that might be wanted for that purpoſe which this country poſſeſſed.

Mr Fox anſwered Lord North, taking up every point of his argument, and ſtrenuouſly contending, that the terms of the loan were unneceſſarily diſadvantageous to the public.

Lord North replied very fully, and was again anſwered by Mr Fox.

Gov. Johnſtone contended for the neceſſity of recovering America, and adviſed vigorous meaſures. He mentioned Lord Chatham's idea, that whenever miniſters agreed to the independency of America, they would agree to a matter pregnant with the moſt fatal conſequences to G. Britain.

The Governor was replied to by Mr Fox, Mr Burke, and Mr T. Townſend; againſt whom he defended himſelf with great ſpirit, and ſtrength of argument.

On the 1ſt of March, the Houſe being in the ſame committee, Lord North roſe to ſubmit to the committee his propoſitions for impoſing freſh taxes. Thoſe which Parliament had impoſed laſt year were deficient: he would not have gentlemen underſtand, that it was impoſſible to render them productive and effectual: he was confident that the deficiency had ariſen from the evaſion of the law more than any other cauſe; for he was fully ſatisfied that there were above 50,000 ſervants in G. Britain, though the ſervants-tax had produced only 50,000 l.; and he was as fully convinced, that if all the houſes in the kingdom had been aſſeſſed at their proper value, the houſe-tax would have brought in conſiderably more than it has produced. The committee, he hoped, would do him the juſtice to believe, that when he propoſed theſe

theſe two taxes, he did not know that they would be deficient; and they would acquit him of having propoſed them as ſuch, merely that he might have recourſe to the ſinking fund: he was of opinion laſt year, that they could anſwer the end for which they were impoſed; and he was now of opinion, that ſuch remedies might be deviſed as ſhould make them very productive: theſe remedies, he would beg leave, on a future day, to ſubmit to parliament. New taxes could ſcarcely ever be ſo impoſed as to render evaſions in the firſt or ſecond year impoſſible: the defects of a law were to be learned from experience; which had enabled him to find out means to defeat the evaſions that had been laſt year too ſucceſsful.

When new taxes are to be impoſed, a chancellor of the exchequer can proceed only on conjecture and probability: the bad ſucceſs of laſt year, and the preſſing neceſſity for a certain ſupply, obliged him to have recourſe to a taxation which he was ſure would not fail him: he could tell, almoſt to a certainty, what the produce would amount to; and that circumſtance, and not a want of other reſources, had determined him to adopt the following plan.

To raiſe the ſum of 472,500l. to pay the annuities for the loan of ſeven millions, he propoſed to lay an additional duty of five per cent. on the full produce of the exciſe and cuſtoms.

The average for three years of exciſe was 5,520,417l. of cuſtoms 2,519,403l.; a duty of five per cent. on theſe ſums would amount to 401,991l. This tax was in itſelf ſo light, that it could but very little affect the value of the neceſſaries of life; and could not afford the trader a pretext to enhance the price to the conſumer. On a pound of candles the increaſe was no more than two tenths of a farthing; on ſoap and hides three tenths of a farthing per pound. On bohea tea it ſcarcely amounted to one penny per pound; and alſo on wine it was not quite a halfpenny a-bottle; on beer and ale it was ſcarce two twelfths of a farthing on a pint [Engliſh]: ſo trivial an increaſe of duty could not raiſe the price of malt-liquor on the conſumer. When parliament impoſed a duty of three ſhillings a-barrel on beer, the conſumers were charged ſix; and though the advance did not amount to a farthing a-pot, they were made to pay a halfpenny additional. Nine pence a-buſhel had indeed been laid on malt; which the brewers had thought proper to pay themſelves, without any higher charge to their cuſtomers; but they nevertheleſs impoſed on them two ſhillings and three pence a-barrel more than they were rated at the exciſe-office. The vintners had likewiſe taken advantage of the duty impoſed laſt year on wine, and, for an additional duty of only one penny, had charged their cuſtomers ſixpence: this year he hoped that no ſuch impoſition would be attempted, as the new duty was too trifling.—The brewers had ſome years ago ſuffered great loſſes; but at preſent, from the price of malt, they were enabled to make enormous fortunes; therefore he hoped that they would be content with what they received, without loading the people with a freſh burden. But as he wiſhed to ſee the conſumers of beer enabled to drink this liquor as cheap as poſſible, and that he would be ſorry to ſee the people left at the mercy of the brewers, he would, if the committee thought proper, except beer and ale from the new taxation. Beer and ale were accordingly excepted. He ſhould then be obliged to deduct from 401,991l. the ſum of 87,473l. which would have been brought in by the new tax on porter, and would reduce the firſt ſum to 314,518l.

To make up the remainder of the ſum of 472,500l. he propoſed to tax thoſe who travel poſt. The convenience of poſt-chaiſes was very great; and in this kingdom greater than in any other in Europe; and as few but thoſe who were tolerably eaſy in their circumſtances could ride poſt, he thought that convenience a very proper object for taxation. By an official inquiry, he had learned, that in England and Wales there were 4021 chaiſes, excluſive of thoſe in London and Middleſex. To theſe he allowed four horſes each upon an average, which made 16,084 horſes: theſe he ſuppoſed to travel each one ſtage a-day; for if they did not, they could not earn as much as would keep them. On each horſe he would lay a duty of 9d. a-ſtage, which would bring in about 600l. a-day, and 219,000l. a-year: but as this was a new tax, and that he had no ſure grounds to go upon, he would deduct one quarter, which would reduce the ſum to about 164,250l. which with the other taxes of 314,517l. would make juſt 478,767l.; upwards of 8000l. more than the intereſt of the loan. He would

have every poſt-chaiſe letter to take out a licence from the ſtamp-office, for which he ſhould pay 5 s.; and he ſhould alſo receive a number of ſtamps by way of tickets, which ſhould be delivered to the traveller on his hiring the chaiſe: for expedition, no blank ſhould be left in them but for the day of the month; and to make the traveller careful to take the ticket, he ſhould be obliged to produce it at all turnpikes he ſhould meet in his way, (and he ſuppoſed that on every ſtage there was one turnpike); and if he could not produce it, he ſhould pay the turnpike-man for his own uſe, as an encouragement to make him watchful, 9 d. for every horſe. This he thought would be a very good check. The landlord ſhould, whenever the collector ſhould make his rounds, produce all the tickets in his poſſeſſion, and the money for thoſe which he had given away; and he ſhould be allowed one half per cent. for the money he ſhould pay in. That people might not run on diligences to avoid the new tax, he propoſed to tax them at one halfpenny a-mile for going out, and one halfpenny on the return, in all one penny a-mile. He had rather rate the new tax at a penny a-mile for each horſe, than nine pence a-ſtage, if he could have it eaſily collected; and he ſaid he would endeavour to deviſe ſome means for ſetting it at a penny a-mile.

As to the candles, ſoap, and hides, he ſhould be glad, for the relief of the poor, to except them, as well as the porter, out of the new taxation; which he could do, by taking off the prohibition on foreign cambric, by which the revenue was greatly injured, and which did not hinder the importation of that commodity under another name. This propoſal met deſervedly the general approbation of the Houſe, and his Lordſhip therefore left out the ſoap, candles, and hides; and for them deducted 32,407 l. which was the ſum they were to bring in by the new taxation. In their ſtead he ſubſtituted cambric, which would bring upwards of 36,000 l. per ann. and ſubjected them, excluſive of the old duties formerly paid on cambric, to the new one of five per cent.

Mr Burke did not reliſh the new taxes; that upon horſes he was ſure would be vexatious; and it would be improper to eſtabliſh it, as it would be a check on commerce: the publicans would be oppreſſed by it, and they ſuffered ſo much already, that in his opinion they were objects for relief more than oppreſſion; however, he would vote for the taxes propoſed by his Lordſhip, not becauſe they were good, but becauſe better could not be propoſed.

Mr Fox differed from Mr Burke; he would not vote with the Noble Lord becauſe no better taxes could be devited. Members of parliament were not bound, and, in certain ſituations, could not propoſe plans of taxation; it was the chancellor of the exchequer's duty, and if he did not diſcover proper ways and means to raiſe the ſupply, he averred he ſhould never have his ſupport. — The duty on exciſe and cuſtoms was indeed an infallible way of raiſing ſupplies without new taxes, as he might every year, for ever, lay an additional five pounds on the ſame commodities. The tax on horſes he reprobated, as it would be an interruption of that ſpeedy intercourſe which contributed ſo much to ſupport freedom and trade.

Mr T. Townſhend ſpoke againſt the motion, and Mr Dempſter againſt the loan. The latter diſapproved of annuities for ever, when, if they had been granted for ninety-nine years, they would be determinable, and very little difference would be in the purchaſe of them. If after the fall of the annuities, the money ariſing from the taxes were carried to the ſinking fund, for the liquidation of our debts, he would have no objection to them; but he could not but reprobate the cuſtom of making the taxes ſerve to ſupport a great peace-eſtabliſhment, which obliged us to make the moſt violent efforts in time of war. The tax upon poſt-horſes would be very unequally felt, as thoſe who lived moſt remote from the capital, and whoſe fortunes were generally ſmall, in proportion to that diſtance, as his was, would be the greateſt ſufferers.

Mr Cornwall replied to Mr Dempſter; and ſupported the motion, becauſe the objects of the new taxation were, by far, the moſt eligible. He was an enemy, as well as the Hon. Gentleman, to great peace-eſtabliſhments, and for the ſame reaſons. He enlarged a good deal on the ſubject; and in the concluſion obſerved, that though the gentlemen who lived fartheſt from the capital would feel moſt the operation of the poſt-chaiſe tax, yet, in other reſpects, they had their loſs made good to them an hundred fold, by

by the cheapneſs of proviſions, and various other commodities.

Mr Bailey obſerved, that the five per cent. additional tax would fall particularly heavy upon the produce of the Weſt-India iſlands, they being already taxed beyond what the planter could well ſupport: he inſtanced his own eſtates in Jamaica, which he ſaid paid at leaſt twenty thouſand guineas net into the exchequer, which was more than he got to his own ſhare; and therefore, when Lord North deſcribed this tax to be only 4 d. per hundred on ſugar, now worth 64 s. independent of the duty and note to the planter, and two pence three farthings per gallon on rum, when the ſelling-price was 8 s. per gallon; it was fallacious, and ſerved only to miſlead the Houſe: for he muſt or ought to have known, that out of thoſe prices the planter not only paid the duties, with 10 s. per 100 freight, beſides an inſurance nearly equal to one third of its value; and he ſhould likewiſe remember, that the planters got ſo little for their rum, that Mr Bailey offered his Lordſhip to take the contract which he made with Muire and Atkinſon, at 4 s. 4 d. per gallon Sterling for half the price. He then inſtanced the great exertions that iſland was making for its defence, which he was informed by the laſt advice amounted to no leſs than an expence of 4000 l. per day; and that as Lord George Germaine had given the office of receiver-general to his ſon, he was, he apprehended, benefited five per cent. on it, which amounted to no leſs than 200 l. a-day as long as that expence incurred; and therefore he did not wonder at the fondneſs the miniſters ſhewed for carrying on this unjuſt and cruel war againſt the Americans: but he would have them take warning, and not oppreſs theſe iſlands too far, leſt they ſhould loſe them, as they effectually had done North America.

The reſolutions were all agreed to without a diviſion, and were as follows.

"1. That an additional duty of 5 l. per cent. be paid on all exciſe-duties, except beer, ſoap, candles, and hides.

2. That 5 l. per cent. addition be paid on all cuſtomhouſe-duties.

3. That 5 s. annually be paid for a licence by every perſon keeping a diligence or poſt-coach.

4. That for every ſuch coach there be charged a duty of one halfpenny per mile, to be paid by the owner.

5. That every perſon who ſhall let any ſaddle-horſe for travelling poſt, ſhall pay annually 5 s. for a licence, and one penny per mile for the ſaid horſe travelling poſt, to be paid by the hirer.

6. That for every pair of horſes hired for drawing a carriage 2 d. per mile, to be paid by the hirer.

7. That every perſon keeping a lottery-office to take out a licence of 50 l.

The ſaid duties to be under the direction of the commiſſioners of ſtamps."

Gov. Johnſtone, in his ſpeech at the opening of the budget, Feb. 24. [186.] ſaid, that by a mention of the American war, he felt himſelf called on to deliver his opinion. He had often ſaid, that the reduction of the Americans was not impoſſible, and that we were equal to the taſk; but then he expected that the war would have been puſhed on with ſpirit and activity; for it was only by that means that we could become victorious. He was happy that his opinion was confirmed by the laſt breath of the Earl of Chatham, who would never conſent to give up America. We had at preſent very pleaſing proſpects before us: the ſucceſs in Georgia was flattering, and our feats on the iſland of St Lucia gave a luſtre to our arms. The next accounts from the Eaſt Indies, he made no doubt, would bring advice of the deſtruction of the French force in that part of the world. The preſent ſtate of America fulfilled his prophecies: The congreſs was divided, as much as ever he had foreſeen and foretold; the paper money had ſunk from ſix to twelve per cent. in its value; and Gen. Waſhington had written to the congreſs, to inform, that he could not keep his army together, unleſs means ſhould be contrived to raiſe the value of the paper currency. Their Generals Howe and Clinton were in the ſame ſituation; the French complained of the Americans, and theſe in their turn complained of the French, while both ſeemed very little ſatisfied with their connection. Not to act with vigour at ſuch a criſis were madneſs. The empire of the ſea was at preſent the great object in diſpute. Some miſmanagement on the 27th of July had prevented us from completely deciding that point: he did not mean to injure an unfortunate man going to trial, but miſconduct there certainly was ſomewhere on that day. Now to abandon Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, and Rhode iſland, would leave the Americans

ricans at liberty to let looſe all their privateers againſt our iſlands; and if they ſhould fall, the whole conteſt would be at an end. The empire of the ſea would be gone, and it would be out of our power ever to recover it; for America was ſo ſituated, that what with the raw materials ſhe had herſelf, and the aſſiſtance ſhe could draw from France in canvas and cordage, ſhe could ſoon raiſe a navy, that, in conjunction with that of France, would beat us out of the ſeas. What ſhe had done already, though hard preſſed by a war, might give room to gueſs at what ſhe might do if ſhe ſhould enjoy ſome years of peace. The ſituation of their country, full of creeks and bays, and interſected with navigable rivers, made the watery element almoſt natural to them. From all this he concluded, that our conteſt with America was not for revenue, but for empire; for if they ſhould triumph, all our glory would be at an end. Mr Neckar was certainly averſe to the war, becauſe it deranged his plans of œconomy; the merchants of different ports had ſent remonſtrances to him; the people in general diſliked the war, and ſome of the moſt illuſtrious characters in France were aſhamed of the perfidious part their court had acted; the ruin of the French trade would ſoon make them tired of a war which was attended with ruin and diſgrace. At ſuch a time was it proper to relax? In his opinion we ſhould redouble our efforts, and we ſhould ſoon put a glorious concluſion to hoſtilities.

On Mr Fox having maintained, that though Lord Chatham would not give up America, it was becauſe he wiſhed to regain it by a peace; at all events he never had contended that our troops ſhould remain in America; with the late Noble Earl it was a maxim, that America was not to be conquered in America; he would have made continental connections, and forced France to defend her dominions againſt a hoſt of foes.—Gov. Johnſtone anſwered, That though Lord Chatham might not have thought it neceſſary to fight the French in America, yet he never ſurely would ſuffer an army to remain inactive in America. For his part, he would keep the army there, reinforce, and make it act with ſpirit, in order to ſubdue the rebels: if his Hon. friend would bring the army back with the intent of facilitating the conqueſt of America, their object was the ſame, but the means as different as they could be; ſo different indeed that he thought it his duty to aſk his Hon. friend whether *he intended to give up America or not?* He had aſked the Noble Lord if the American war was relinquiſhed, and he received an anſwer; his Hon. friend was therefore bound to anſwer the queſtion he then put to him. There was no man who had a more ſovereign contempt for the preſent adminiſtration than he had; but he had ſtill rather give them his ſupport, while they ſeemed determined to proſecute the war, than thoſe who, if they were in office, would abandon it. We wanted nothing but ſpirit; redoubled efforts would ſecure us ſucceſs. If Spain ſhould declare againſt us, ſhould we crouch and give up the conteſt? No! Like Britons, who never ſhew more magnanimity than in diſtreſs, we ſhould ſtrain every nerve to face every enemy. When France beat us, and the Dutch with us, out of the Engliſh channel, and with a broom at their maſt-head ſwept our own ſeas, did our anceſtors deſpair? No! they glorioufly exerted themſelves, and ſoon ſnatched the ſceptre of the ſeas from France. When Ruſſia, Denmark, Poland, and Saxony, all declared againſt Sweden, did the young Charles XII. implore the mercy of his enemies? No! like a hero he oppoſed, and by the vigour of his exertions, in ſix weeks time diſſipated a ſtorm that threatened his kingdom with nothing leſs than abſolute deſtruction. Did the King of Pruſſia, when oppoſed ſingly to a continent in arms, decline a war, and poorly ſue for peace? No! he bravely oppoſed himſelf to the danger, and by his ſpirited exertions, made the concluſion of the war as glorious to himſelf, as it had threatened to be fatal. Let Britain do the like, and victory would every where attend her colours: for ſpirit and perſeverance overcome every oppoſition.

A DROLL ANECDOTE.

AN odd country-fellow, who was married to a termagant, going one Sunday to church, heard the miniſter preach from theſe words: "Take up your croſs, and follow me." Dobſon was extremely attentive: and as ſoon as church was done, went home, and taking his wife on his back, ran as faſt as he was able after the parſon; who ſeeing how the fellow was laden, aſked him the reaſon. "Why, what a plague, cries Dobſon, has your Reverence forgot already? did not your Worſhip bid us take up our croſs, and follow you? and I am ſure this is the greateſt croſs that I have in the world, an' pleaſe ye."

AME-

AMERICA. [148.]

"*Whitehall, April* 20. Yeſterday morning Lt Col. Campbell, of the 71ſt, arrived in town from Georgia; by whom a letter has been received from Maj.-Gen. Prevoſt, commanding his Majeſty's troops in that province, to Lord George Germaine, dated, Head Quarters, Ebenezer, in Georgia, March 5. 1779; of which the following is an extract.

"I did myſelf the honour on the 18th of January laſt to acquaint your Lordſhip of my having arrived at Savannah, and, agreeable to the commander in chief's inſtructions, taking upon me the chief command of his Majeſty's troops in this province. [84.]

[Gen. Prevoſt then goes on to acquaint Ld George with ſome neceſſary arrangements previous to an action which is the principal ſubject of his letter; in which he gives great credit to Lt-Col. Campbell, and recommends him as a proper perſon to be conſulted, and every way capable of giving the fulleſt information regarding the ſervice of that country. — He likewiſe highly applauds the active zeal of Capt. Parker, of the Phœnix, commanding the ſquadron on that ſervice, who was about to leave them, by order of Rear-Adm. Gambier.—Then follows Mr Prevoſt's further account.]

I now proceed to inform your Lordſhip, that ſome days ago intelligence being received, that the rebels, in conſiderable force, had taken poſt at Briar creek, thirteen miles above our poſt at Hudſon's, and that they were buſied in repairing the bridge, (which had been deſtroyed by Col. Campbell in his return downwards), as if intending to advance by that route, our poſt was reinforced, and diſpoſitions ſecretly made to give them a proper reception: And it being much to be wiſhed that they would put the creek in their rear, which would put it in our power to attack them on advantageous ground, means were uſed to inſpire them with confidence to attempt it. But after waiting two days, finding that they meant only to eſtabliſh themſelves there for the purpoſe of hampering us in our quarters, and cutting us off from all communication with the upper country, and perhaps had views of co-operation with their main army, it was judged proper to diſlodge them. Accordingly Maj. M'Pherſon, with the 1ſt battalion 71ſt, and ſome irregulars, with two field-pieces, was directed by Lt-Col. Prevoſt to advance towards the bridge, to maſk the movements he himſelf had made, with the 2d battalion 71ſt, a corps of light infantry commanded by Sir James Baird, and three companies of grenadiers of the Florida brigade, with which he took a long circuit of fifty miles to croſs the creek above them, and endeavour to gain their rear. Diſpoſitions were alſo made by the army to favour the attempt, and to amuſe and keep Mr Lincoln in check, ſhould he in the mean time attempt any thing in this quarter. Our plan was happily effected. The rebels being in ſome meaſure ſurpriſed, on the 3d inſtant were totally defeated and diſperſed, with the loſs of ſeven pieces of cannon, ſeveral ſtand of colours, almoſt all their arms, all their ammunition and baggage, which were left to the victorious troops; the intrepidity and behaviour of which I am intreated by Lt-Col. Prevoſt to report to your Lordſhip, to be laid before his Majeſty. Permit me at the ſame time to mention him as a perſon deſerving ſome mark of his Majeſty's royal favour, his indefatigable activity and his faithful ſervices intitle him to your Lordſhip's patronage.

The ſecond in command, Brig.-Gen. Elbert, one of their beſt officers, ſeveral more of note, in the whole twenty-ſeven officers, were taken, with near 200 men; about 150 were killed on the field of battle and adjoining woods and ſwamps: but their chief loſs conſiſts in the number of officers and men drowned in attempting to ſave themſelves from the ſlaughter, and plunging into a deep and rapid river.

The loſs on our ſide was only five privates killed, and one officer and ten privates wounded. The rebels, by the beſt accounts, were above 2000; their commiſſary, our priſoner, ſays 2500. On our ſide, three grenadier companies of the 60th regiment, Sir James Baird's light infantry, the 2d battalion 71ſt, Capt. Tawes's troop of light dragoons, with about 150 provincials, rangers, and militia, making in all about 900, compoſed the corps that attacked.

The good conſequences of this defeat will, I hope, ſoon appear. The rebels will not again diſturb us in this province. Our communication with our back friends and the Indians will be open: and though I cannot think it prudent to extend immediately far upwards,

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in the mean time, whilſt we guard what we have already got, we hold ourſelves in readineſs to catch at further favourable incidents, as they may occur."

After this letter there follows a proclamation, in the name of Auguſtine Prevoſt, Eſq; Brigadier-General and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's troops in the Southern diſtrict; Hyde Parker, jun. Eſq; commanding his Majeſty's ſhips in the river Savannah; and Archibald Campbell, Eſq; commanding the northern detachment,—dated, Savannah, March 4. 1779; —declaring, "That all the laws of the province of Georgia which were in force at the end of the year 1775 [17. 518], are, and ſhall continue, in full force, until ſuch time as a period of leſs diſquiet ſhall enable a future general aſſembly to alter or amend them;"—and eſtabliſhing a civil government, and naming perſons to fill the ſeveral offices.

Lt. Col. Campbell adds, That at Auguſta and round it, the inhabitants, to the number of 1400 men, ſubmitted, ſwore allegiance to the King, took the benefit of his Majeſty's gracious protection, and were formed into twenty companies, in the ſtyle of militia, for the defence of their property againſt the incurſions of the rebels from Carolina: That after his return down the country, intelligence was received, that a body of the loyaliſts of North and South Carolina, conſiſting of about 600 men, after being repulſed by the rebels, were in ſearch of the royal army by the back or upper road; that the advanced part of the army was immediately moved towards them; and that 300 of them joined the King's troops, and are formed under their own leaders with every poſſible attention and encouragement: and, That ſince the laſt action many deſerters from the Continental troops in Carolina had come in, and were forming into companies; and that a lieutenant-colonel and thirty men had arrived in one night immediately before his departure. *Lond. gaz.*

"*London, April* 16. By a proclamation publiſhed at New York, all deſerters from the provincials are offered a refuge in that city, and are allowed to enter on board the privateers if they chuſe; a promiſe is alſo given them, that they ſhall not be impreſſed into the King's ſervice. In conſequence of which many hundred ſeamen have come in to go on board the private ſhips of war, which has much affected the provincials, the want of ſeamen being very great in all their ports."

Adm. KEPPEL's *trial, continued.* [156.]

The evidence for the proſecution having been finiſhed on Friday, Jan. 29. the Admiral began his defence on the 30th; introducing it thus.

"SIR,

AFTER forty years ſpent in the ſervice of my country, little did I think of being brought to a court-martial to anſwer to charges of miſconduct, negligence in the performance of duty, and tarniſhing the honour of the Britiſh navy. Theſe charges, Sir, have been advanced by my accuſer. Whether he has ſucceeded in proving them or not, the court will determine. Before he brought me to a trial, it would have been candid in him to have given vent to his thoughts, and not, by a deceptious ſhew of kindneſs, to lead me into the miſtake of ſuppoſing a friend in the man who was my enemy in his heart, and was ſhortly to be my accuſer. Yet, Sir, after all my miſconduct; after ſo much negligence in the performance of duty; and after tarniſhing ſo deeply the honour of the Britiſh navy; my accuſer made no ſcruple to fail a ſecond time with the man who had been the betrayer of his country! Nay, during the time that we were on ſhore, he correſponded with me on terms of friendſhip; and even in his letters he approved of what had been done, of the part which he now condemns, and of the very negligent miſconduct which has ſince been ſo offenſive in his eyes!

Such behaviour, Sir, on the part of my accuſer, gave me little reaſon to apprehend an accuſation from him. Nor had I any reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the ſtate would criminate me. When I returned, his Majeſty received me with the greateſt applauſe. Even the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty gave his flattering teſtimony to the rectitude of my conduct, and ſeemed with vaſt ſincerity to applaud my zeal for the ſervice. Yet, in the moment of approbation, it ſeems as if a ſcheme was concerting againſt my life: for, without any previous notice, five articles of a charge were exhibited againſt me by Sir Hugh Palliſer; who, moſt unfortunately for his cauſe, lay himſelf under an imputation for diſobedience of orders at the very time when he accuſed me of negligence. This, to be ſure, was a very ingenious mode of getting the ſtart of me. An accuſation exhibited againſt a commander in chief, might draw off the public attention from neglect of duty

ty in an inferior officer. I could almoſt wiſh, in pity to my accuſer, that appearances were not ſo ſtrong againſt him. Before the trial commenced, I actually thought that my accuſer might have ſome tolerable reaſons for his conduct: but from the evidence, even as adduced to account for the behaviour of the Hon. Gentleman in the afternoon of the 27th of July; from that evidence, I ſay, Sir, I find that I was miſtaken. The trial has left my accuſer without excuſe; and he now cuts that ſort of figure which, I truſt in God! all accuſers of innocence will ever exhibit.

I have obſerved, Sir, that the opinions of officers of different ranks have been taken: I truſt that the court will indulge me with the ſame liberty, in the evidence for my defence. Some have refuſed to give their opinions. I thought it ſtrange; as plain ſpeaking, and a full declaration, are the beſt of evidences in a good cauſe.

I would wiſh, Sir, the court to conſider, that in all great naval, as well as military operations, unleſs the deſign be fully known, the ſeveral manœuvres may have a ſtrange appearance. Maſters have been called to give their opinions on the higher departments of command. Higher authorities ſhould have been taken. Such authorities are not ſcarce; for I am happy to ſay, there never was a country ſerved by naval officers of more bravery, ſkill, and gallantry, than England can boaſt at preſent. As to this court, I intreat you, Gentlemen, who compoſe it, to recollect, that you here ſit as a court of honour as well as a court of juſtice: and I now ſtand before you, not merely to ſave my life, but for a purpoſe of infinitely greater moment,—to clear my fame.

My accuſer, Sir, has been not a little miſtaken in his notions of the duty of a commander in chief, or he would never have accuſed me in the manner he has done. During action ſubordinate officers either are (or they ought to be) too attentive to their own duty to obſerve the manœuvres of others. In general engagements it is ſcarcely poſſible for the ſame objects to appear in the ſame point of view to the commanders of two different ſhips. The point of ſight may be different. Clouds of ſmoke may obſtruct the view. Hence will ariſe the difference in the opinions of officers as to this or that manœuvre, without any intentional partiality. Whether I have conceived objects in exact correſpondence with the truth; whether I have viewed them unſkilfully, (or, as my accuſer has been pleaſed to term it, un-officer like), theſe are matters which remain to be determined. I can only ſay, that what Sir Hugh Palliſer has imputed to me as negligence, was the effect of deliberation and choice. I will add, that I was not confined in my powers when I ſailed; I had ample diſcretion to act as I thought proper for the defence of the kingdom. I manœuvred; I fought; I returned; I did my beſt. If my abilities were not equal to the taſk, I have the conſolation to think, that I did not ſolicit, nor did I bargain for the command. More than two years ago, in the month of November 1776, I received a letter from the Firſt Lord of the Marine department, wherein he obſerved, "That, owing to motions of foreign courts, it might be neceſſary to prepare a fleet of obſervation." My reply to this letter was, "That I was ready to receive any command from his Majeſty, and I begged to have the honour of an audience." This requeſt was complied with. I was cloſeted; and I told the King, that "I was willing to ſerve him as long my health would permit." I heard no more until the month of March 1778, at which time I had two or three audiences, and I told his Majeſty, that "I had no acquaintance with his miniſters, but I truſted to his protection and zeal for the public good." Here was no ſiniſter views, no paltry gratifications; I had nothing, I felt nothing, but an earneſt deſire to ſerve my country. I even accepted the command in chief with reluctance. I was apprehenſive of not being ſupported at home. I foreſaw, that the higher the command, the more liable was I to be ruined in my reputation. Even my miſfortunes, if I had any, might be conſtrued into crimes. During forty years ſervice, I have not received any particular mark of favour from the crown. I have only been honoured with the confidence of my ſovereign in times of public danger. Neither my deficiencies nor my miſconduct were ever before brought forward to the public. And it is now ſomewhat ſtrange, that, ſo well acquainted as my accuſer muſt have been with my deficient abilities, it is ſtrange, I ſay, Sir, that he ſhould be the very perſon who brought me the meſſage to take the command upon me! Nay, further, Sir,

he brought me that meſſage with great ſeeming pleaſure! There was, or there was not reaſon at that time to doubt my ability. If there was reaſon, how could my accuſer with me to accept a command for which I was diſqualified? If there was not any reaſon to doubt my profeſſional abilities ſixteen months ago, I have given no reaſon why they ſhould be ſince called in queſtion. When I returned from the expedition, I did not complain of any thing. I endeavoured to ſtop all murmurings. I even truſted the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty in the ſame manner as I would have done my moſt intimate friend. This might be imprudent. It might be dangerous. But, Sir, I am by nature open and unguarded; and little did I expect, that traps would artfully be laid to endeavour to catch me on the authority of my own words.

It was in the month of March 1778, that I was told a fleet lay ready for me to command. When I reached Portſmouth, I ſaw but ſix ſhips ready; and on viewing even thoſe with a ſeaman's eye, I was not by any means pleaſed with their condition. Before I quitted Portſmouth, four or five more were ready; and I will do the perſons in office the juſtice to ſay, that from that time they uſed the utmoſt diligence in getting the fleet ready for ſervice. On the 30th of June I ſailed with twenty ſhips of the line; and very fortunately I fell in with the Belle Poule and other French frigates; and the letters and papers found on board them were of material ſervice to the ſtate. Capt. Marſhall diſtinguiſhed himſelf with the greateſt honour. I confeſs, that when I fell in with thoſe frigates I was at a loſs how to act. On the one hand, I conceived the incident to be favourable to my country; and, on the other, I was fearful that a war with France and all its conſequences might be laid to my charge. For any thing I can tell, this may yet be the caſe. It may be treaſured up to furniſh another matter for future accuſation. To this hour I have neither received official approbation or cenſure for my conduct. With twenty ſhips of the line I ſailed. Thirty-two ſhips of the line lay in Breſt water, beſides an incredible number of frigates. Was I to ſeek an engagement with a ſuperior force? I never did, nor ſhall I ever, fear to engage a force ſuperior to the one I then commanded, or that I may hereafter command: but I well know what men and ſhips can do; and if the fleet I commanded had been deſtroyed, we muſt have left the French maſters of the ſea. To refit a fleet requires time. From the ſituation of affairs naval ſtores are not very ſoon ſupplied. Never did I experience ſo deep a melancholy as when I found myſelf forced to turn my back on France! I quitted my ſtation, and my courage was never put to ſo ſevere a trial. [40. 324, 8.]

I was permitted to ſail a ſecond time without receiving official praiſe or blame for the part I had acted. Theſe were diſcouraging circumſtances. But they did not diſturb my temper. My principal object was, to get ready for ſea with all poſſible haſte. I was ſurpriſed on my return to be threatened with the fate of Adm. Byng [19. 202.], and I was ſtill more ſurpriſed to be charged with cowardice.

With thirty ſhips of the line I ſailed early in July. The French Admiral ſailed from Breſt with thirty-two ſhips. I believe, that when the fleets came in ſight of each other, the French were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee me ſo ſtrong. I deſire not to throw the ſlighteſt imputation on the courage of the French Admiral. I believe him to be a brave man, and one who had ſome particular reaſons for the line of conduct he purſued. I was determined if poſſible to bring the French to battle, as I had every reaſon to think, that their having avoided an engagement when it was for four days in their power to attack me, was owing to their expecting ſome capital reinforcements. I therefore thought that the ſooner I could engage them the better; eſpecially as I knew, that the principal fleets of our trade were daily expected in the channel; and if the French fleets had been permitted to diſperſe without an action, our Eaſt and Weſt India fleets might have been intercepted, the convoys might have been cut off, and the ſtake of England might have been loſt. I beg leave to mention, that in the reign of K. William the gallant Adm. Ruſſel was two months in ſight of a French fleet, and he could not poſſibly bring them to action: my being in ſight of the French fleet four days before the engagement, will not therefore appear quite ſo extraordinary as it has been repreſented. Had it not been for the favourable change of wind on the morning of the 27th of July, I could not have brought the French to action when I did.

I am exceedingly ſorry, Sir, that the Admiralty have refuſed me the liberty of producing my inſtructions. In all former courts-martial, the inſtructions and orders have been ſent with the charge to the members of the court. As it has been denied in this inſtance, I muſt, and do ſubmit.

Although on the 27th of July I fought and beat my enemy, and compelled him to take ſhelter by returning into port; yet the effort did by no means anſwer my wiſhes. I ruſhed on to re-attack the enemy. Why I did not accompliſh my deſign, will be ſeen in the evidence I ſhall produce. I might, it is true, have chaſed the three ſhips which were viſible on the morning of the 28th of July; but with very little proſpect of ſucceſs I therefore choſe to return to Plymouth with my ſhattered fleet, to get ready for ſea again; not however forgetting to leave two ſhips of the line to cruiſe for the protection of our trading fleets; which, thank God! all arrived ſafe.

On my return, Sir, I moſt cautiouſly avoided to utter a ſyllable of complaint, becauſe it might have ſuſpended our naval operations, which at that time would have been highly dangerous. I could not think of attending to a court-martial when greater objects were in view.

With reſpect to the ſecond edition of the Formidable's log-book, it appears to have been fabricated rather for the purpoſe of exculpating the proſecutor, than to criminate me. I ſhall therefore paſs it over, and permit the gentleman to make the moſt of ſuch an exculpation. I cannot, however, be ſo civil to the alterations and additions in the log-book of the Robuſte. Capt. Hood's conduct muſt have ſtruck the court, as I believe it did every perſon, except the proſecutor, with aſtoniſhment.

A great ſtreſs, Sir, has been laid on my letter to the Admiralty. There is a paſſage in it where I ſeemed to approve the conduct of every officer in the fleet [40.387.]. The court will obſerve, that I was not in my letter to inform all Europe, that a Vice-Admiral under my command had been guilty of neglect, whilſt there remained a poſſibility of excuſe for his conduct. As to courts-martial, one very bad conſequence will I am ſure reſult from this trial: it will terrify a commander in chief from accepting a commiſſion, if he ſhould be liable to be brought to a trial by every ſubordinate officer.

As I have touched on my letters, I will juſt obſerve, Sir, that the moſt diſagreeable taſk I ever experienced, was that of writing my letter of the 30th of July. However, if I writ ill, I am confident that I fought well, and the deſertion of the trade of France was evident from the numbers of rich captures which are made: a number far exceeding any thing ever known in ſo ſhort a period! His Majeſty noticed this in a ſpeech from the throne. [40.621.]

Mr Preſident, I now deſire that the judge-advocate may be directed to read the charges, and I will anſwer the ſeveral accuſations.

The Replies of Adm. Keppel.

The firſt of the charges contained in the firſt article is, "That on the morning of the 27th of July 1778, having a fleet of thirty ſhips of the line under my command, and being then in the preſence of a French fleet of the like number of ſhips of the line, I did not make the neceſſary preparations for fight."

To this I anſwer, That I have never underſtood preparations for fight to have any other meaning, in the language and underſtanding of ſeamen, than that each particular ſhip, under the direction and diſcipline of her own officers, when in purſuit of an enemy, be in every reſpect cleared, and in readineſs for action; the contrary of which no admiral of a fleet, without a reaſonable cauſe, will preſume: And as from the morning of the 24th, when the French fleet had got to the windward, to the time of the action, the Britiſh fleet was in unremitting purſuit of them, it is ſtill more difficult to conceive, that any thing more is meant by this charge than what is immediately after conveyed by the charge that follows it, viz. "That on the ſame morning of the 27th I did not put my fleet into line of battle, or into any order proper either for receiving or attacking an enemy of ſuch force."

By the ſecond part of the charge I feel myſelf attacked in the exerciſe of that great and broad line of diſcretion which every officer, commanding either fleets or armies, is often obliged, both in duty and conſcience, to exerciſe to the beſt of his judgement; and which, depending on circumſtances and ſituations infinitely various, cannot be reduced to any poſitive rule of diſcipline or practice: A diſcretion which, I ſubmit to the court, I

was peculiarly called upon, by the ſtrongeſt and beſt motives, to exerciſe; which I therefore did exerciſe; and which, in my public letter to the board of admiralty, I openly avowed to have exerciſed. I admit, that on the morning of the 27th of July, I did not put my fleet into a line of battle; becauſe I had it not in my choice to do ſo, conſiſtently with the certainty, or even the probability, of either giving or being given battle; and becauſe, if I had ſcrupulouſly adhered to that order, in which, if the election had been mine, I ſhould have choſen to have received or attacked a willing enemy, I ſhould have had no enemy either to receive or attack.

I ſhall, therefore, in anſwer to this charge, ſubmit to the court my reaſons for determining to bring the enemy to battle at all events; and ſhall ſhew, that any other order than that in which my fleet was conducted from my firſt ſeeing them, to the moment of the action, was incompatible with ſuch determination.

In order to this, I muſt call the attention of the court to a retroſpective view of the motions of the two fleets, from their firſt coming in ſight of each other.

On my firſt diſcovering the French fleet at one o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d of July, I made the neceſſary ſignals for forming my fleet in the order of battle; which I effected towards the evening, and brought to by ſignal, and lay till the morning; when, perceiving that the French fleet had gained the wind during the night, and carried a preſſed ſail to preſerve it, I diſcontinued the ſignal for the line, and made the general ſignal to chaſe to windward, in hopes that they would join battle with me, rather than ſuffer two of their capital ſhips to be entirely ſeparated from them, and give me a chance of cutting off a third, which had carried away a topmaſt in the night, and which, but for a ſhift of wind, I muſt have taken. In this, however, I was diſappointed; for they ſuffered two of them to go off altogether, and continued to make every uſe of the advantage of the wind.

This aſſiduous endeavour of the French Admiral to avoid coming to action, which, from his having the wind, was always in his option, led me to believe that he expected a reinforcement. This reflection would alone have been ſufficient to determine me to urge my purſuit, in as collected a body as the nature of ſuch a purſuit would admit of, without the delay of the line, and to ſeize the firſt opportunity of bringing on an engagement.

But I had other reaſons no leſs urgent: If, by obſtinately adhering to the line of battle, I had ſuffered, as I inevitably muſt, the French fleet to have ſeparated from me; and if, by ſuch ſeparation, the Engliſh convoys from the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, then expected home, had been cut off, or the coaſt of England had been inſulted, what would have been my ſituation? Sheltered under the forms of diſcipline, I might, perhaps, have eſcaped puniſhment; but I could not have eſcaped cenſure. I ſhould neither have eſcaped the contempt of my fellow-citizens, nor the reproaches of my own conſcience.

Moved by theſe important conſiderations; ſupported by the examples of Adm. Ruſſel, and other great commanders, who, in ſimilar ſituations, had ever made ſtrict orders give way to reaſonable enterpriſe; and particularly encouraged by the remembrance of having myſelf ſerved under that truly great officer Lord Hawke, when, rejecting all rules and forms, he graſped at victory by an irregular attack: I determined not to loſe ſight of the French fleet, by being outſailed, from preſerving the line of battle, but to keep my fleet as well collected as I could, and near enough to aſſiſt and act with each other, in caſe a change of wind, or other favourable circumſtances, ſhould enable me to force the French fleet to action.

Such were my feelings and reflections, when the day broke, on the morning of the 27th of July; at which time the fleet under my command was in the following poſition: Vice-Adm. Sir Robert Harland was about four miles diſtant, on the Victory's weather-quarter, with moſt of the ſhips of his own diviſion, and ſome of thoſe belonging to the centre; Vice-Adm. Sir Hugh Palliſer at about three miles diſtance, a point before the lee-beam of the Victory, with his main-ſail up; which obliged the ſhips of his diviſion to continue under an eaſy ſail.

The French fleet was as much to windward, and at as great a diſtance, as it had been the preceding morning, ſtanding with a freſh wind at S. W. cloſe hauled on the larboard tack, to all appearance avoiding me with the ſame induſtry it ever had done.

At this time, therefore, I had no greater inducement to form the line, than I had the morning of the former day; and I could not have formed it without greatly increaſing my diſtance from the French fleet, contrary to that plan of operation which I have already ſubmitted to the judgement of the court.

The Vice Admiral of the Blue next charges, "That although my fleet was already diſperſed and in diſorder, I, by making the ſignal for ſeveral ſhips in his diviſion to chaſe to windward, increaſed the diſorder of that part of my fleet; and that the ſhips were in conſequence more ſcattered than they had been the day before; and that, while in this diſorder, I advanced to the enemy, and made the ſignal for battle."

In this part of the charge there is a ſtudious deſign to miſlead the underſtanding, and, by leaving out times and intermediate events, to make the tranſactions of half a day appear but as one moment. It is, indeed, impoſſible to read it, without being poſſeſſed with the idea, that at half paſt five in the morning, when I made the ſignal for ſix of the ſhips of the Vice-Admiral of the Blue's diviſion to chaſe to windward, I was in the immediate proſpect of cloſing with an enemy approaching me in a regular line, and all their motions plainly indicating a deſign to give battle; inſtead of which, both the fleets were then on the larboard tack, the enemy's fleet near three leagues, if not more, to windward, going off cloſe by the wind with a preſſed ſail. My reaſon, therefore, for making that ſignal, at half paſt five, was to collect as many ſhips to windward as I could, in order to ſtrengthen the main body of the fleet, in caſe I ſhould be able to get to action, and to fill up the interval between the Victory and the Vice-Admiral, which was occaſioned by his being far to leeward; and it is plain that the Vice-Admiral muſt have himſelf underſtood the object of the ſignal, ſince it has appeared in the courſe of the evidence, that on its being made, the Formidable ſet her main-ſail, and let the reefs out of her top-ſails: and indeed the only reaſon why it was not originally made for the whole diviſion was, that they muſt have then chaſed as a diviſion, which would have retarded the beſt-going ſhips by an attendance on the Vice-Admiral.

Things were in this ſituation when, at half paſt nine, the French Admiral tacked, and wore his whole fleet, and ſtood to the ſouthward, on the ſtarboard tack, cloſe hauled; but the wind, immediately after they wore about, coming more ſoutherly, I continued to ſtand on till a quarter paſt ten, at which time I tacked the Britiſh fleet together by ſignal. Soon after we wore about on the ſtarboard tack, the wind came two points in our favour to the weſtward, which enabled us to lie up for a part of them; but in a dark ſquall that ſoon after came on, I loſt ſight of the enemy for above half an hour, and when it cleared away at eleven o'clock, I diſcovered the French fleet had changed their poſition, and were endeavouring to form the line on the larboard tack; which finding they could not effect without coming within gun-ſhot of the van of the Britiſh fleet, they edged down, and fired on my headmoſt ſhips, as they approached them on the contrary tack, at a quarter after eleven; which was inſtantly returned; and then, and not till then, I made the ſignal for battle. All this happened in about half an hour; and muſt have been owing to the enemy's falling to leeward in performing their evolution during the ſquall, which we could not ſee, and by that means produced this ſudden and unexpected opportunity of engaging them, as they were near three leagues ahead of me when the ſquall came on.

If therefore, by making the ſignal for the line of battle, when the van of my fleet was thus ſuddenly getting within reach of the enemy, and well connected with the centre, as my accuſer himſelf has admitted, I had called back the Vice-Admiral of the Red, the French fleet might either have formed their line complete, and have come down upon my fleet while in the confuſion of getting into order of battle; or (what I had ſtill greater reaſon to apprehend) might have gone off to windward out of my reach altogether; for even as it was, the enemy's van, inſtead of coming cloſe to action, kept their wind, and paſſed hardly within random-ſhot.

My accuſer next aſſerts, as an aggravation of his former charge, "That the French fleet was in a regular line on that tack which approached the Britiſh fleet, all their motions plainly indicating a deſign to give battle."

Both theſe facts have already been contradicted by the teſtimony even of his own witneſſes. That the enemy's fleet

was

was not in a regular line of battle, appeared by the French Admiral being out of his ſtation, far from the centre of his line, and next, or very near, to a ſhip carrying a Vice-Admiral's flag, and from ſome of their ſhips being abreaſt of each other, and in one, as they paſſed the Britiſh fleet, with other apparent marks of irregularity. Indeed every motion of the French fleet, from about nine, when it went upon the ſtarboard tack, till the moment of the action, and even during the action itſelf, I apprehend to be deciſive againſt the alledged indication of deſigning battle: for if the French Admiral had really deſigned to come to action, I apprehend he never would have got his fleet on the contrary tack to that on which the Britiſh fleet was coming up to him, but would have ſhortened ſail, and waited for it, formed in the line on the ſame tack; and even when he did tack towards the Britiſh fleet, the alledged indication is again directly refuted, by the van of the French fleet hauling their wind again, inſtead of bearing down into action, and by their hoiſting no colours when they began to engage.

Notwithſtanding theſe incontrovertible truths, my accuſer imputes it to me, that a general engagement was not brought on: but it is evident from the teſtimony of every witneſs he has called, that a general engagement was never in my choice; and that ſo far from its being prevented by my not having formed the line of battle, no engagement, either general or partial, could have been brought on if I had formed it. Indeed it is a contradiction in terms to ſpeak of a general engagement, where the fleet that has the wind, tacks to paſs the fleet to leeward on the contrary tack.

Such was the manner in which, after four days purſuit, I was at laſt enabled, by a favourable ſhift of wind, to cloſe with the fleet of France: and if I am juſtifiable on principle in the exerciſe of that diſcretion which I have been ſubmitting to your judgement, of bringing, at all events, an unwilling enemy to battle, I am certainly not called upon to deſcend to all the *minutiæ* of conſequences reſulting from ſuch enterpriſe, even if ſuch had enſued as my accuſer has aſſerted, but which his own witneſſes have not only failed to eſtabliſh, but abſolutely refuted. It would be an inſult on the underſtanding of the court, were I to offer any arguments to ſhew, that ſhips which engage without a line of battle, cannot ſo cloſely, uniformly, and mutually ſupport each other, as when circumſtances admit of a line being formed; becauſe it is ſelf-evident, and is the baſis of all the diſcipline and practice of lines of battle. But, in the preſent caſe, notwithſtanding I had no choice in making any diſpoſition for an attack, nor any poſſibility of getting to battle otherwiſe than I did, which would be alone ſufficient to repel any charge of conſequent irregularity, or even confuſion; yet it is not neceſſary for me to claim the protection of the circumſtances under which I acted, becauſe no irregularity or confuſion either exiſted or has been proved; all the chaſing ſhips, and the whole fleet, except a ſhip or two, got into battle, and into as cloſe battle as the French fleet, which had the option by being to windward, choſe to give them. The Vice-Admiral of the Blue himſelf, though in the rear, was out of action in a ſhort time after the Victory; and ſo far from being left to engage ſingly and unſupported, was paſſed during the action by three ſhips of his own diviſion, and was obliged to back his mizen topſail, to keep out of the fire of one of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet, which muſt have continued near him all the reſt of the time he was paſſing the French line, as I ſhall prove ſhe was within three cables lengths of the Formidable when the firing ceaſed.

Anſwer to the Second Article. [97.]

The moment the Victory had paſſed the enemy's rear, my firſt object was, to look round to the poſition of the fleet, which the ſmoke had till then obſcured from obſervation, in order to determine how a general engagement might beſt be brought on after the fleets ſhould have paſſed each other.

I found that the Vice-Admiral of the Red, with part of his diviſion, had tacked, and was ſtanding towards the enemy with top-gallant-ſails ſet, the very thing I am charged with not having directed him to do; but all the reſt of the ſhips that had paſſed ahead of me were ſtill on the ſtarboard tack, ſome of them dropping to leeward, and ſeemingly employed in repairing their damages. The Victory herſelf was in no condition to tack; and I could not immediately wear, and ſtand back on the ſhips coming up aſtern of me out of the action, (had it

it been otherwiſe expedient), without throwing them into the utmoſt confuſion. Sir John Lockhart-Roſs, who very gallantly tried the experiment, having informed the court of the momentary neceſſity he was under of wearing back again, to prevent the conſequences I have mentioned, makes it unneceſſary to enlarge on the probable effect of ſuch a general manœuvre, with all the ſhips ahead. Indeed I only mark it as a ſtrongly relative circumſtance, appearing by the evidence of a very able and experienced officer, and by no means as a juſtification for having ſtood away to a great diſtance beyond the enemy before I wore, becauſe the charge itſelf is groſſly falſe. In fact, the Victory had very little way while her head was to the ſouthward, and although her damages were conſiderable, was the firſt ſhip of the centre-diviſion that got round towards the enemy again, and ſome time before the reſt were able to follow her; ſince, even as it was, not above three or four were able to cloſe up with her on the larboard tack; ſo that had it even been practicable to have wore ſooner than I did, no good purpoſe could have been anſwered by it; ſince I muſt have only wore the ſooner back again, to have collected the diſabled ſhips, which would have been thereby left ſtill farther aſtern.

The Formidable was no otherwiſe left engaged with the enemy during this ſhort interval, than as being in the rear, which muſt always neceſſarily happen to ſhips in that ſituation, when fleets engage each other on contrary tacks; and no one witneſs has attempted to ſpeak to the danger my accuſer complains of, except his own captain, who, on being called upon to fix the time when ſuch danger was apprehended, ſtated it to be before the Formidable opened her fire; which renders the application of it as a conſequence of the ſecond charge too abſurd to demand a refutation.

Anſwer to the Third Article. [97.]

As ſoon as I had wore to ſtand towards the enemy, I hauled down the ſignal for battle, which I judged improper to be kept abroad till the ſhips could recover their ſtations, or at leaſt get near enough to ſupport each other in action. In order to call them together for that purpoſe, I immediately made the ſignal to form the line of battle ahead; and the Victory being at this time ahead of all the centre and red diviſions, I embraced that opportunity of unbending her main top-ſail, which was totally unſerviceable, and in doing which the utmoſt expedition was uſed; the ſhips aſtern of me doing all they could in the mean time to get into their ſtations; ſo that no time was loſt by this neceſſary operation.

The Formidable was ahead of the Victory during this period; it was her ſtation in the line on that tack. Yet at the very moment my accuſer dares to charge me with not calling the ſhips together to renew the attack, he himſelf, though his ſhip was in a manageable condition, as appeared by the evidence of his own captain, and though he had wore, expecting, as he ſays, the battle to be renewed, quitted his ſtation in the front of that line of battle, the ſignal for which was flying, paſſed to leeward of me, on the ſtarboard tack, while I was advancing to the enemy, and never came into the line during the reſt of the day.

In this ſituation I judged it neceſſary that the Vice-Admiral of the Red, who was to windward, and puſhing forward on my weather-bow, with ſix or ſeven ſhips of his diviſion, ſhould lead on the larboard tack, in order to give time to the ſhips which had come laſt out of action, to repair their damages, and get collected together; and the ſignal appointed by the 31ſt article of the fighting-inſtructions not being applicable, as the French fleet was ſo nearly ahead of us, that by keeping cloſe to the wind we could only have fetched them, I made the Proſerpine's ſignal, in order to have diſpatched Capt. Sutton with a meſſage to Sir Robert Harland, to lead the fleet to the larboard tack: but before he left the Victory, with the orders he had received, the French fleet wore, and ſtood to the ſouthward, forming their line on the ſtarboard tack, their ſhips advancing regularly out of a collected body, which they had got into from the operation of wearing, and not from any diſorder or confuſion; though, had ſuch diſorder or confuſion really exiſted, I could have derived no immediate advantage from it, not having a ſufficient force collected to prevent their forming, by an attempt to renew the attack. The Victory was at this time the neareſt ſhip to the enemy, with no more than three or four of the centre-diviſion, in any ſituation to have ſupported her or each other

in action. The Vice-Admiral of the Blue was on the ſtarboard tack, ſtanding away from his ſtation, totally regardleſs of the ſignal that was flying to form the line; and moſt of the other ſhips, except the Red diviſion, whoſe poſition I have already ſtated, were far aſtern; and five diſabled ſhips at a great diſtance on the lee-quarter. Moſt of theſe facts are already eſtabliſhed by the accuſer's own evidence; and I ſhall prove and confirm them all by the teſtimony of that part of the fleet whoſe ſituations will enable them to ſpeak to them with certainty.

I truſt they will convince the court, that I had it not in my power to collect the fleet together to renew the fight at that time, and that from their not being able to follow me, I conſequently could not advance with them; that I did not haul down the ſignal for battle, till it ceaſed to be capable of producing any good effect; that during the whole time I ſtood towards the enemy, I endeavoured, by the moſt forcible of all ſignals, the ſignal for the line of battle, to call the ſhips together, in order to renew the attack; that I did avail myſelf of the ſhips that were with the Vice-Admiral of the Red, as far as circumſtances admitted; and that I therefore did do the utmoſt in my power to take, ſink, burn, and deſtroy the French fleet which had attacked the Britiſh fleet.

Anſwer to the Fourth Article. [97.]

The French fleet having wore, and began to form their line on the ſtarboard tack, by the wind, which if they kept would have brought them cloſe up with the centre diviſion, ſoon afterwards edged away, pointing towards four or five diſabled ſhips, which were at a diſtance to leeward, and with evident intention to have ſeparated them from the reſt of the fleet; to prevent which I made the ſignal to wear, and ſtood athwart their van in a diagonal courſe, to give protection to thoſe crippled ſhips, keeping the ſignal for the line flying to form and collect the fleet on the ſtarboard tack. As I had thus been obliged to alter my diſpoſition, before Capt. Sutton left the Victory, with my former meſſage, I diſpatched him with orders to the Vice-Admiral of the Red to form with his diviſion at a diſtance aſtern of the Victory, to cover the rear, and to keep the enemy in check, till the Vice-Admiral of the Blue ſhould come into his ſtation, with his diviſion, in obedience to the ſignal. Theſe orders the Vice-Admiral of the Red inſtantly obeyed, and was formed in my wake before four o' clock; when, finding, that while by the courſe I ſteered to protect the crippled ſhips, I was nearer the enemy, the Vice-Admiral of the Blue ſtill continued to lie to windward, and by ſo doing kept his diviſion from joining me, I made the ſignal for ſhips to bear down into my wake, and that it might be the better diſtinguiſhed (both being ſignals at the mizen-peak) I hauled down the ſignal for the line, for about ten minutes, and then hoiſted it again. This ſignal he repeated, tho' he had not repeated that for the line of battle; but by not bearing down himſelf, he led the ſhips of his diviſion to interpret his repeating it as requiring them to come into his wake inſtead of mine.

Having now accompliſhed the protection of the diſabled ſhips, and the French fleet continuing to form their line, ranging up to leeward, parallel to the centre-diviſion, my only object was to form mine, in order to bear down upon them to renew the battle; and therefore, at a quarter before five o' clock, after having repeated the ſignal for ſhips to windward to bear down into my wake, with no better effect than before, I ſent the Milford with orders to the Vice Admiral of the Red to ſtretch ahead, and take his ſtation in the line; which he inſtantly obeyed: and the Vice-Admiral of the Blue being ſtill to the windward, with his fore-topſail unbent, and making no viſible effort to obey the ſignal, which had been flying the whole afternoon, I ſent out the Fox, at five o' clock, with orders to him to bear down into my wake, and to tell him, that I only waited for him, and his diviſion, to renew the battle. While I was diſpatching theſe frigates, having before hauled down the ſignal to come into my wake, I put abroad the ſignal for all ſhips to come into their ſtations, always keeping the ſignal for the line flying. All this producing no effect on the Vice-Admiral of the Blue, and wearied out with fruitleſs expectation, at ſeven o' clock I made the ſignal for each particular ſhip of the Vice-Admiral of the Blue's diviſion to come into their ſtation: but before they had accompliſhed it, night put an end to all further operations.

It may be obſerved, that amongſt theſe

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ſignals I did not make the Formidable's. If the Vice-Admiral chuſes to conſider this as a culpable neglect, I can only ſay, that it occurred to me to treat him with a delicacy due to his rank, which had ſome time before induced me to ſend him the meſſage by Capt. Windſor, the particulars of which he has already faithfully related to the court.

I truſt I have little reaſon to apprehend, that the court will be inclined to conſider my conduct as I have ſtated it, in anſwer to this fourth article of the charge, as diſgraceful to the Britiſh flag. After I had put upon the ſame tack with the enemy, to protect the diſabled part of my fleet, and to collect the reſt together, there would have been little to do to renew the battle, but bearing right down upon the enemy, if my accuſer had led his diviſion in obedience to the repeated ſignals and orders which I have ſtated. The Victory never went more than two knots, was under her double-reefed topſails and foreſail, much ſhattered, which kept the ſhips that were near her under their topſails, and ſuffered the French fleet, which might always have brought me to action if they had inclined to do it, to range up parallel with the centre, under very little ſail. It was to protect the five diſabled ſhips above mentioned, and to give the reſt time to form into ſome order, that I judged it more expedient to ſtand as I did under that eaſy ſail, than to bring to with my head to the ſouthward. The court will judge whether it was poſſible for any officer in the ſervice really to believe that theſe operations could give the appearance of a flight, or furniſh a rational pretence to the French Admiral to claim the victory, or publiſh to the world that the Britiſh fleet had run away.

Anſwer to the Fifth Article. [97.]

On the morning of the 28th of July, the French fleet (except three ſail which were ſeen upon the lee-quarter) was only viſible from the maſt-heads of ſome of the ſhips of the Britiſh fleet, and at a diſtance from me, which afforded not the ſmalleſt proſpect of coming up with them; more eſpecially as their ſhips, though certainly much damaged in their hulls, had not apparently ſuffered much in their maſts and ſails: whereas the fleet under my command was generally and greatly ſhattered in their maſts, yards, and rigging, and many of them unable to carry ſail. As to the three French ſhips, I made the ſignal at five o' clock in the morning for the Duke, Bienfaiſant, Prince George, and Eliſabeth, to give them chace, judging them to be the propereſt ſhips for that purpoſe; but the two laſt were not able to carry ſufficient ſail to give even countenance to the purſuit; and, looking round to the general condition of my fleet, I ſaw it was in vain to attempt either a general or partial chace. Indeed my accuſer does not venture to alledge that there was any probability, or even poſſibility, of doing it with effect; which deſtroys the whole imputation of his charge.

Under theſe circumſtances, I could not miſtake my duty; and I was reſolved not to ſacrifice it to an empty ſhew and appearance, which is beneath the dignity of an officer unconſcious of any failure or neglect. To have urged a fruitleſs purſuit with a fleet ſo greatly crippled in its maſts and ſails, after a diſtant and flying enemy, within reach of their own ports, and with a freſh wind blowing fair for their port, with a large ſwell, would have been not only wantonly expoſing the Britiſh fleet under my command, without end or object, but miſleading and defeating its operations, by delaying the refitment neceſſary for carrying on the future ſervice with vigour and effect.

My accuſer aſſerts, by a general concluſion to the five articles exhibited againſt me, that from what he ſtates as inſtances of miſconduct and neglect in me, "a glorious opportunity was loſt of doing a moſt eſſential ſervice to the ſtate, and that the honour of the Britiſh navy was tarniſhed."

The truth of the aſſertion, That an opportunity was loſt, I am not called upon either to combat or deny. It is ſufficient for me, if I ſhall be ſucceſsful in proving, that that opportunity was ſeized by me, and followed up to the full extent of my power. If the court ſhall be of that opinion, I am ſatiſfied; and it will then reſt with the Vice-Admiral of the Blue to explain to what cauſe it is to be referred, that the glorious opportunity he ſpeaks of was loſt, and to whom it is to be imputed, (if the fact be true), that the honour of the Britiſh navy has been tarniſhed.

[*To be continued.*]

NEW BOOKS. [160.]

Eſſays: On the nature and immutability of Truth, in oppoſition to Sophiſtry and Scepticiſm; on Poetry and Muſic, as they affect the mind; On Laughter, and Ludicrous Compoſition; On the utility of Claſſical Learning. By James Beattie, LL. D. Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy and Logic in the Mariſchal college and univerſity of Aberdeen. 1 *vol.* 4*to.* 1 *l.* 1 *s. in boards* [39. 30.] 2 *vols* 8*vo.* 11 *s.* 6 *d. in boards.* Printed at Edinburgh: Dilly, London; Creech, Edinburgh.

[For the Eſſay on Truth, of which there had been five editions before the other three Eſſays were joined with it, we refer to what our readers have ſeen formerly [35. 78;—33. 199.]; and have now to review only theſe three.]

IN theſe eſſays, the ſubjects of which are curious and entertaining, the reader will find no paradoxical opinions, no refined theories, no affectation of originality; but he will meet with many ſtriking proofs of a correct and elegant taſte, and of a ſound judgement; of an intimate acquaintance with the beſt poetical productions, both of ancient and modern times; many beautiful illuſtrations, and evident marks of the ſenſibility, benevolence, and piety of the ingenious writer.

The firſt eſſay treats on Poetry and Muſic as they affect the mind: and here the author ſhews very clearly, that true poetry, notwithſtanding its apparent licentiouſneſs, is a thing perfectly rational and regular; and that nothing can be more ſtrictly philoſophical than that part of criticiſm may and ought to be, which unfolds the general characters that diſtinguiſh it from other kinds of compoſition.

The characters that diſtinguiſh poetry from other works of literature, belong either to the SUBJECT or to the LANGUAGE; ſo that this eſſay naturally reſolves itſelf into two parts. In the firſt, poetry is conſidered with reſpect to its *matter* or *ſubject*;—and it is divided into ſeven chapters;—in the firſt of which our author ſhews, that *pleaſure* is the immediate aim of all thoſe artifices by which poetry is diſtinguiſhed from other compoſitions,—of the harmony, the rhythm, the ornamented language, the compact and diverſified fable, &c.; that *inſtruction* is only a ſecondary end of poetry; that verſes, if pleaſing, may be poetical, though they convey little or no inſtruction; but that verſes, whoſe ſole merit is, that they convey inſtruction, are not poetical. Inſtruction, however, eſpecially in poems of length, he allows to be neceſſary to their *perfection*, becauſe they would not be *perfectly agreeable* without it.

The ſecond chapter, which treats of the *Standard of Poetical Invention*, is introduced with ſome very juſt obſervations on that ſpecies of delight which well-diſpoſed minds receive from the contemplation of the works of Nature. What the author ſays of the advantages to be derived from cheriſhing a ſenſibility to the beauties of Nature in young perſons, well deſerves the attention of all thoſe who are converned in the education of youth.

This happy ſenſibility (we uſe the author's own words) engages them to contemplate the Creator in his wonderful works; it purifies and harmonizes the ſoul, and prepares it for moral and intellectual diſcipline; it ſupplies an endleſs ſource of amuſement; it contributes even to bodily health; and, as a ſtrict analogy ſubſiſts between material and moral beauty, it leads the heart by an eaſy tranſition from the one to the other; and thus recommends virtue for its tranſcendent lovelineſs, and makes vice appear the object of contempt and abomination. An intimate acquaintance with the beſt deſcriptive poets, Spenſer, Milton, and Thomſon, but above all with the divine Georgic, joined to ſome practice in the art of drawing, will promote this amiable ſenſibility in early years; for then the face of Nature has novelty ſuperadded to its other charms, the paſſions are not pre-engaged, the heart is free from care, and the imagination warm and romantic.

In the remaining part of this chapter our author ſhews, that poetry, and indeed every art whoſe end is to pleaſe, muſt be natural; and if ſo, muſt exhibit real matter of fact, or ſomething like it; in other words, that it muſt be either according to truth, or according to veriſimilitude. In the courſe of what he advances on this ſubject, he cenſures Swift with great, but with a very becoming ſeverity, for the "unnatural and abominable tale of his *Houyhnhnms*."

In the third chapter our author ſhews, that poetry exhibits a ſyſtem of nature ſomewhat different from the reality of things;—that to exhibit *real nature* is the buſineſs

buſineſs of hiſtory, but that poetry muſt be, not according to real nature, but according to nature improved, to that degree which is conſiſtent with probability, and ſuitable to the poet's purpoſe.

The poſſibility of improving upon nature, he obſerves, muſt be obvious to every one. When we look at a landſcape, we can fancy a thouſand additional embelliſhments. Mountains loftier and more picturesque; rivers more copious, more limpid, and more beautifully winding; ſmoother and wider lawns; valleys more richly diverſified; caverns and rocks more gloomy, and more ſtupendous; ruins more majeſtic; buildings more magnificent; oceans more varied with iſlands, more ſplendid with ſhipping, or more agitated by ſtorm, than any we have ever ſeen, it is eaſy for human imagination to conceive. The fineſt woman in the world appears to every eye ſuſceptible of improvement, except perhaps to that of her lover. No wonder, then, if in poetry events can be exhibited more compact, and of more pleaſing variety, than thoſe delineated by the hiſtorian, and ſcenes of inanimate nature more dreadful or more lovely, and human characters more ſublime and more exquiſite both in good and evil. Yet ſtill Nature muſt ſupply the ground-work and materials, as well as the ſtandard, of poetical fiction.

"The moſt expert painters," continues our author, "uſe a layman, or other viſible figure, to direct their hand, and regulate their fancy. Homer himſelf founds his two poems on authentic tradition; and Tragic as well as Epic poets have followed the example. The writers of romance too are ambitious to interweave true adventures with their fables; and, when it can be conveniently done, to take the outlines of their plan from real life. Thus the tale of Robinſon Cruſoe is founded on an incident that actually befel one Alexander Selkirk, a ſeafaring man, who lived ſeveral years alone in the iſland of Juan Fernandes; Smollet is thought to have given us ſeveral of his own adventures in the hiſtory of Roderick Random; and the chief characters in Tom Jones, Joſeph Andrews, and Pamela, are ſaid to have been copied from real originals.—— Dramatic Comedy, indeed, is for the moſt part purely fictitious; for if it were to exhibit real events, as well as preſent manners, it would become too perſonal to be endured by a well-bred audience, and degenerate into downright abuſe; which appears to have been the caſe with the *old comedy* of the Greeks*. But, in general, hints taken from real exiſtence will be found to give no little grace and ſtability to fiction, even in the moſt fanciful poems. Thoſe hints, however, may be improved by the poet's imagination, and ſet off with every probable ornament that can be deviſed, conſiſtently with the deſign and genius of the work;—or, in other words, with the ſympathies that the poet means to awaken in the mind of his reader. For mere poetical ornament, when it fails to intereſt the affections, is not only uſeleſs, but improper; all true poetry being addreſſed to the heart, and intended to give pleaſure by raiſing or ſoothing the paſſions;—the only effectual way of pleaſing a rational and moral creature. And therefore I would take Horace's maxim to be univerſal in poetry; "Non ſatis eſt, pulchra eſſe poemata; *dulcia* ſunto;" "It is not enough that poems be beautiful; let them alſo be *affecting*;"—for that this is the meaning of the word *dulcia* in this place, is admitted by the beſt interpreters, and is indeed evident from the context†.

That the ſentiments and feelings of percipient beings, when expreſſed in poetry, ſhould call forth our affections, is natural enough; but can deſcriptions of inanimate things alſo be made affecting? Certainly they can: and the more they affect, the more they pleaſe us; and the more poetical we allow them to be. Virgil's Georgic is a noble ſpecimen (and indeed the nobleſt in the world) of this ſort of poetry. His admiration of external nature gains upon a reader of taſte, till it riſes to perfect enthuſiaſm. The following obſervations will perhaps explain this matter.

Every thing in nature is complex in itſelf, and bears innumerable relations to other things; and may therefore be viewed in an endleſs variety of lights, and conſequently deſcribed in an endleſs variety of ways. Some deſcriptions are good, and others bad. An hiſtorical deſcription that enumerates all the qualities of any object, is certainly good, becauſe it is true; but may be as unaffecting as a logical definition. In poetry no unaffecting deſcription is good, however conformable to truth; for here we expect, not a complete enumeration of qualities, the chief end of the art being

* Compare Hor. lib. 1. ſat. 4. ver. 1.—5. with Ar. Poet. ver. 281.—285.

† Hor. Ar. Poet. ver 95.—100.

to pleaſe, but only ſuch an enumeration as may give a lively and intereſting idea. It is not memory, or the knowledge of rules, that can qualify a poet for this ſort of deſcription; but a peculiar livelineſs of fancy and ſenſibility of heart, the nature whereof we may explain by its effects, but we cannot lay down rules for the attainment of it.

When our mind is occupied by any emotion, we naturally uſe words, and meditate on things, that are ſuitable to it, and tend to encourage it. If a man were to write a letter when he is very angry, there would probably be ſomething of vehemence or bitterneſs in the ſtyle, even though the perſon to whom he wrote were not the object of his anger. The ſame thing holds true of every other ſtrong paſſion or emotion:—while it predominates in the mind, it gives a peculiarity to our thoughts, as well as to our voice, geſture, and countenance; and hence we expect, that every perſonage introduced in poetry ſhould ſee things through the medium of his ruling paſſion, and that his thoughts and language ſhould be tinctured accordingly. A melancholy man walking in a grove, attends to thoſe things that ſuit and encourage his melancholy; the ſighing of the wind in the trees, the murmuring of waters, the darkneſs and ſolitude of the ſhades: a chearful man in the ſame place, finds many ſubjects of chearful meditation, in the ſinging of birds, the buſk motions of the babbling ſtream, and the livelineſs and variety of the verdure. Perſons of different characters, contemplating the ſame thing, a Roman triumph, for inſtance, feel different emotions, and turn their view to different objects. One is filled with wonder at ſuch a diſplay of wealth and power; another exults in the idea of conqueſt, and pants for military renown; a third, ſtunned with clamour, and haraſſed with confuſion, wiſhes for ſilence, ſecurity, and ſolitude; one melts with pity to the vanquiſhed, and makes many a ſad reflection upon the inſignificance of worldly grandeur, and the uncertainty of human things; while the buffoon, and perhaps the philoſopher, conſiders the whole as a vain piece of pageantry, which, by its ſolemn procedure, and by the admiration of ſo many people, is only rendered the more ridiculous:—and each of theſe perſons would deſcribe it in a way ſuitable to his own feelings, and tending to raiſe the ſame in others. We ſee in Milton's Allegro and Penſeroſo, how a different caſt of mind produces a variety in the manner of conceiving and contemplating the ſame rural ſcenery. In the former of theſe excellent poems, the author perſonates a chearful man, and takes notice of thoſe things in external nature that are ſuitable to chearful thoughts, and tend to encourage them; in the latter, every object deſcribed is ſerious and ſolemn, and productive of calm reflection and tender melancholy: and I ſhould not be eaſily perſuaded, that Milton wrote the firſt under the influence of ſorrow, or the ſecond under that of gladneſs.—We often ſee an author's character in his works; and if every author were in earneſt when he writes, we ſhould oftener ſee it. Thomſon was a man of piety and benevolence, and a warm admirer of the beauties of nature; and every deſcription in his delightful poem on the Seaſons tends to raiſe the ſame laudable affections in his reader. The parts of nature that attract his notice are thoſe which an impious or hard-hearted man would neither attend to nor be affected with, at leaſt in the ſame manner. In Swift we ſee a turn of mind very different from that of the amiable Thomſon; little reliſh for the ſublime or beautiful, and a perpetual ſucceſſion of violent emotions. All his pictures of human life ſeem to ſhow, that deformity and meanneſs were the favourite objects of his attention, and that his ſoul was a conſtant prey to indignation *, diſguſt, and other gloomy paſſions ariſing from ſuch a view of things. And it is the tendency of almoſt all his writings (though it was not always the author's deſign) to communicate the ſame paſſions to his reader; inſomuch that, notwithſtanding his erudition, and knowledge of the world, his abilities as a popular orator and man of buſineſs, the energy of his ſtyle, the elegance of ſome of his verſes, and his extraordinary talents in wit and humour, there is reaſon to doubt, whether by ſtudying his works any perſon was ever much improved in piety or benevolence.

And thus we ſee how the compoſitions of an ingenious author may operate up-

* For part of this remark, we have his own authority, often in his letters, and very explicitly in the Latin Epitaph which he compoſed for himſelf: "ubi ſæva indignatio ulterius cor lacerare nequit." See his laſt will and teſtament.

on the heart, whatever be the ſubject. The affections that prevail in the author himſelf direct his attention to objects congenial, and give a peculiar bias to his inventive powers, and a peculiar colour to his language. Hence his work, as well as face, if Nature is permitted to exert herſelf freely in it, will exhibit a picture of his mind, and awaken correſpondent ſympathies in the reader. When theſe are favourable to virtue, which they always ought to be, the work will have that *ſweet pathos* which Horace alludes to in the paſſage above mentioned; and which we ſo highly admire, and ſo warmly approve, even in thoſe parts of the Georgic that deſcribe inanimate nature."

All this appears to us not only ingenious, but ſtrictly philoſophical and juſt. Dr Beattie goes on to obſerve, that the true poet muſt not only ſtudy nature, and know the reality of things, but muſt alſo poſſeſs fancy, to invent additional decorations; judgement, to direct him in the choice of ſuch as accord with veriſimilitude; and ſenſibility, to enter with ardent emotions into every part of his ſubject, ſo as to transfuſe into his work a pathos and energy ſufficient to raiſe correſponding emotions in the reader.—Poetical repreſentations muſt be framed after a pattern of the higheſt probable perfection that the genius of the work will admit;—external nature muſt be more picturesque than in reality; action more animated; ſentiments more expreſſive of the feelings and character, and more ſuitable to the circumſtances of the ſpeaker; perſonages better accomplished in thoſe qualities that raiſe admiration, pity, terror, and other ardent emotions; and events, more compact, more clearly connected with cauſes and conſequences, and unfolded in an order more flattering to the fancy, and more intereſting to the paſſions. If it be aſked, Where is this pattern of perfection to be found? our author anſwers, Not in real nature; otherwiſe hiſtory, which delineates real nature, would alſo delineate this pattern of perfection. It is to be found only in the mind of the poet; and it is imagination, regulated by knowledge, that enables him to form it.

The fourth chapter treats of *Poetical Characters*; and contains many ingenious and pertinent remarks upon the characters in Homer, Virgil, Milton, &c.

The ſubject of the fifth is, *Poetical Arrangement*; — and here the author illuſtrates, in a very agreeable and entertaining manner, what he had before remarked, viz. that the *events* of poetry muſt be more compact, more clearly connected with cauſes and conſequences, and unfolded in an order more flattering to the imagination, and more intereſting to the paſſions, than the events of hiſtory commonly are."

The ſixth chapter contains remarks on Muſic;—and is divided into three ſections;—the firſt of which is introduced with ſome general obſervations on our natural propenſity to imitation,—on the ſeveral cauſes which ſeem to co-operate in producing the pleaſure which we take in witneſſing tragical imitations of human action, even while they move us to pity and ſorrow; — on imitation's being a plentiful ſource of pleaſure, &c.

Imitative muſic extends, Dr Beattie ſays, to thoſe natural ſounds and motions only, which are agreeable in themſelves, conſiſtent with melody and harmony, and aſſociated with agreeable affections and ſentiments. Its merit is ſo inconſiderable, he thinks, that muſic purely inſtrumental is rather hurt than improved by it; and vocal muſic employs it only as an help to the expreſſion, except in ſome rare caſes, where the imitation is itſelf expreſſive as well as agreeable, and at the ſame time within the power of the human voice. It is proper to obſerve, that by imitative muſic, our author muſt always be underſtood to mean that which imitates *natural* ſounds and motions.

Muſic, according to Dr Beattie, is pleaſing, not becauſe it is imitative, but becauſe certain melodies and harmonies have an *aptitude* to raiſe certain paſſions, affections, and ſentiments, in the ſoul; and, conſequently, the pleaſures we derive from melody and harmony are ſeldom or never reſolvable into that delight which the human mind receives from the imitation of nature.

In the ſecond ſection he inquires a little into the nature of this *aptitude*; and endeavours, from acknowledged principles of the human conſtitution, to explain the cauſe of that pleaſure which mankind derive from muſic. He does not attempt a complete inveſtigation of the ſubject, nor indeed any thing more than a few curſory remarks; and having no theory to ſupport, and the topic, though amuſing, not being of any great

utility,

utility, he is neither poſitive in his aſſertions, nor abſtruſe in his reaſonings.

The third ſection contains conjectures on ſome peculiaries of national muſic; but for what the author advances on this ſubject, we muſt refer to the work itſelf. He appears, through the whole of what he ſays upon muſic, to have a hearty zeal for the honour of an art, which he thinks capable of being improved into an inſtrument of virtue as well as of pleaſure. Whether his ſentiments in regard to muſic, conſidered as an imitative art, be juſt or not, we ſhall not take upon us to determine; we will venture to affirm, however, that he ſupports and illuſtrates them in a very ingenious and entertaining manner.

As a great part of the pleaſure we derive from poetry depends on our ſympathetic feelings, the philoſophy of *ſympathy*, our author ſays, ought always to form a part of the ſcience of criticiſm; accordingly, in his ſeventh chapter, he makes a few brief remarks upon the ſubject.

Sympathy, as the means of conveying certain feelings from one breaſt to another, might be made a powerful inſtrument, he ſays, of moral diſcipline, if the poets, and other writers of fable, were careful to call forth our ſenſibility towards thoſe emotions only that favour virtue, and invigorate the human mind. Fictions, that breathe the ſpirit of patriotiſm or valour; that make us ſympathiſe with the parental, conjugal, or filial charities; that recommend misfortune to our pity, or expoſe crimes to our abhorrence, may certainly be uſeful in a moral view, by cheriſhing paſſions, that, while they improve the heart, can hardly be indulged to exceſs. But thoſe dreadful tales, he obſerves, that only give anguiſh to the reader, can never do any good: they fatigue, enervate, and overwhelm the ſoul; and when the calamities they deſcribe fall upon the innocent, our moral principles are in ſome danger of a temporary depravation from the peruſal, whatever reſemblance the fable may be ſuppoſed to bear to the events of real life. Some late authors of fiction ſeem to have thought it incumbent on them not only to touch the heart, but to tear it in pieces. They heap *miſfortune on miſfortune, grief on grief*, without end, and without mercy: which diſcompoſes the reader too much to give him either pleaſure or improvement; and is contrary to the practice of the wiſer ancients, whoſe moſt pathetic ſcenes were generally ſhort.

We now proceed to the ſecond part; wherein the author conſiders the INSTRUMENT which poetry employs in its imitations, or, in other words, explains the general nature of POETIC LANGUAGE; *language* being the poet's inſtrument of imitation, as *ſound* is the muſician's, and *colour* the painter's. Now, words in poetry are choſen, firſt, for their *ſenſe*; and, ſecondly, for their *ſound*: accordingly, he conſiders poetical language, firſt, as SIGNIFICANT; and, ſecondly, as SUSCEPTIBLE OF HARMONY.

Having endeavoured to prove, in the firſt part of his eſſay, that poetical fictions are imitative of real events, poetical images of real appearances in the viſible creation, and poetical perſonages of real human characters, it would ſeem to follow, our author ſays, that the *language of poetry* muſt be an imitation of the *language of nature*. Accordingly, his firſt inquiry is, What is meant by *natural language*?

Language is then according to nature, we are told, when it is ſuitable to the ſuppoſed condition of the ſpeaker, meaning by the word *condition*, not only the outward circumſtances of fortune, rank, employment, ſex, age, and nation, but alſo the internal temperature of the underſtanding and paſſions, as well as the peculiar nature of the thoughts that may happen to occupy the mind.

His next inquiry is, What are thoſe improvements that peculiarly belong to the language of poetry? And here he ſhews, that natural language is improved in poetry by the uſe of poetical words, and by means of tropes and figures.—It would give us pleaſure to inſert ſome of his obſervations upon this ſubject, and upon that of poetical harmony, but the bounds aſſigned to this article will not admit of it. [*To be continued.*]

An addreſs to the people of Scotland, upon the alarms that have been raiſed in regard to Popery. By George Campbell, D. D. Principal of Mariſchal college, Aberdeen, ff. 6d. 8d. or on coarſe paper 4d. Creech, Edinburgh; Cadell, London, &c.

THis addreſs is divided into three chapters: 1. The doctrine of the goſpel in regard to perſecution, particularly of perſecutors; 2. The concluſions to which

found

found policy would lead us, in regard to the toleration of Papiſts; 3. The proper and Chriſtian expedients for promoting religious knowledge, and repreſſing error.

"The name of perſecutor (ſays Dr Campbell, in the firſt chapter) is juſtly become ſo odious, that I know no ſect of Chriſtians who do not diſclaim the character with abhorrence. Even Papiſts will not confeſs that they perſecute. By their own account, they only adminiſter wholeſome ſeverities, for recovering thoſe who have ſwerved from the truth, or, if irreclaimable, for deterring others from following their pernicious courſes, for defending themſelves againſt their machinations, and for giving a timely check to the contagion of hereſy. Theſe, ſay they, are purpoſes the moſt ſalutary imaginable [40. 591.]. They maintain further, that what is done in ſupport of truth, however cruel it may appear, is not perſecution; that thoſe puniſhments only deſerve to be branded with that opprobrious appellation, which are employed in defence of error: but as they themſelves are always in the right, they can never be in hazard of inflicting theſe.

So ſays the Romaniſt, and, by ſaying ſo, demonſtrates, either that he is himſelf a perſecutor on principle, or elſe, that there is no ſuch thing as perſecution on the earth. For what is any man's immediate criterion of truth, but his own opinions? in which it is but too evident, that the moſt confident are not always the beſt founded. On this foot, the more opiniative a man is, (which is far from ſaying, the more wiſe he is), the more he feels himſelf intitled to be the ſcourge of all who think differently from him. Nor is it poſſible for any man to have another rule here but the ſtrength of his conviction; which, if it intitle one, intitles all equally, Jew, Pagan, Chriſtian, or Mahometan. I do not know that any beſide Roman-Catholics barefacedly avow this doctrine; but I ſhould be juſtly charged with groſs partiality, did I aver that no ſect but theirs act in a way which this hypotheſis alone could juſtify. Other parties do not, with equal arrogancy, claim infallibility; but often, with greater conſiſtency, they exact ſuch a reſpect to their deciſions, as can be vindicated only on the ſuppoſition that they are infallible. —

To claim to ourſelves the merit, that we do not perſecute for conſcience ſake, becauſe we tolerate all the opinions which a man keeps to himſelf, and never diſcloſes to us, is ſo exceedingly abſurd, that one is at a loſs to conceive how a man can be in earneſt who advances it. If that only be perſecution which is aimed at ſecret and concealed opinion, and if opinion revealed be a proper ſubject of correction by the magiſtrate, who does not incur thereby the imputation of intolerance, it is evident, that our Lord himſelf was not perſecuted, his Apoſtles were not, as little were the primitive Chriſtians, or the Proteſtants.—

As it is ſolely with Chriſtians, and Proteſtants, that I am concerned, I ſhall, waving all other topics, recur to *ſacred writ*, particularly the NEW TESTAMENT; an authority for which we all profeſs the profoundeſt veneration. —

The methods whereby, according to the command of our Lord, his religion was to be propagated, were no other than teaching, and the attractive influence of an exemplary life: "Go and teach all nations; — Preach the goſpel to every creature; — Let your light ſo ſhine before men, that they may ſee your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." And when their doctrine ſhould meet with no return but contempt and ſcorn, they are enjoined only to warn ſuch deſpiſers, by ſhaking off the duſt of their feet, of the ſpiritual dangers to which they expoſe themſelves, Matth. x. 14. Nay, if men ſhould proceed ſo far as to return them evil for good, and reward their wholeſome inſtructions with perſecution, their orders are, when perſecuted in one city, to flee to another. In general, with regard to the character they are uniformly to maintain, they are commanded to "be wiſe as ſerpents, but harmleſs as doves." This laſt qualification is added, to appriſe them, that it is ſolely the wiſdom of the ſerpent, not his venom and his tooth, that they muſt endeavour to arm themſelves with. Indeed, of the whole armour of God to be employed in this warfare, the Apoſtle Paul (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) has given us a catalogue. "Stand therefore," ſays he, "having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breaſtplate of righteouſneſs; and your feet ſhod with the preparation of the goſpel of peace; above all taking the ſhield of faith, wherewith ye ſhall be able to quench all the fiery darts

darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of falvation, and the fword of the Spirit, which is the word of God: Praying always with all prayer and fupplication, and watching thereunto, with all perfeverance and fupplication for all faints." Behold the Chriftian's panoply. But for the ufe of other arms offenfive or defenfive, in the battles of faith, I can find no warrant.

But though this fuited the infancy of the church, when fhe was yet feeble and tender; now that fhe is grown hardier, and more robuft, is it not reafonable that fhe fhould change her plan, and aſſume, in addreſſing her adverſaries, a bolder note? Is there no permiſſion given by our Lord, to have recourſe, when that fhould happen, to other weapons? Had his diſciples no hint of the propriety, or rather neceſſity, of penal ſtatutes, for adding weight to their teaching, for checking the encroachments of error, and chaſtiſing the inſolence of thoſe who ſhould dare, in the maturity of the church, to controvert her judgement? Not the ſlighteſt ſuggeſtion of ſuch an alteration. On the contrary, it appears inconſiſtent with the nature of the church deviſed by our Saviour, and modelled by his apoſtles. Hear himſelf, in that good confeſſion which he witneſſed before Pontius Pilate: "Jeſus anſwered, My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight, that I ſhould not be delivered to the Jews: but now is my kingdom not from hence." Swords and ſpears, and all ſuch inſtruments of hoſtility, are ſuited to the defence of ſecular and worldly kingdoms. If my kingdom were of this world, *then* would my ſervants fight. But ſuch weapons are prepoſterous when employed in ſupport of a diſpenſation quite ſpiritual and heavenly. In regard to it the order is, "Put up again thy ſword into his place; for all they that take the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword."

The maxims of the apoſtles we find entirely conformable to the leſſons they had received from their Lord. "Knowing the terror of the Lord," ſays Paul, "we perſuade men." Our only method is perſuaſion, not compulſion. The only terrors we ſet before men, are not the terrors either of the magiſtrate or of the mob; they are the terrors of the Lord, the dread of incurring the divine diſpleaſure, and the tremendous judgement of the world to come; as, on the other hand, the only allurements are the divine promiſes. "Though we walk in the fleſh," ſays the ſame apoſtle, "we do not war after the fleſh. For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pûlling down of ſtrong holds, caſting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itſelf againſt the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Chriſt." Are thoſe ſpiritual weapons now ſo blunted, that without the coarſe implements ſupplied by human laws, they would be of no utility? In regard to gainſayers and adverſaries, we are taught, that as "the ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle to all men, apt to teach, patient;" ſo he is in particular to "inſtruct in meekneſs thoſe that oppoſe themſelves, if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth." Meekly and patiently to teach, is the duty of the miniſter; the effect of this teaching, that is, the converſion of the ſinner, or the conviction of the erring, muſt be left to the ſupreme diſpoſer of events. The very utmoſt enjoined Chriſtians in regard to the obſtinate and irreclaimable, is, after repeated unſucceſsful attempts and admonitions, to avoid their company, Tit. iii. 10.

But, ſay our opponents, Popery is a ſuperſtition ſo baneful as not to deſerve any favour, eſpecially at the hands of Proteſtants. Its intolerance to them, and perſecuting ſpirit, if there were nothing elſe we had to accuſe it of, would be ſufficient to juſtify the ſevereſt treatment we could give it. This treatment to Papiſts could not be called perſecution, but juſt retaliation, or the neceſſary means of preventing perdition to ourſelves.—I do not ſay, that either Popery or Papiſts deſerve favour from us. On the contrary, I admit the truth of the charge againſt them; but not the conſequence ye would draw from it. Let Popery be as black as ye will. Call it Beelzebub, if you pleaſe. It is not by Beelzebub that I am for caſting out Beelzebub, but by the Spirit of God. We exclaim againſt Popery, and in exclaiming againſt it, we betray but too manifeſtly, that we have imbibed of the character for which we deteſt it. In the moſt unlovely ſpirit of Popery, and with the unhallowed arms of Popery, we would

would fight againſt Popery. It is not by ſuch weapons that God hath promiſed to conſume *the man of ſin*, but it is by *the breath of his mouth*, that is, *his word*. As for us, though we be often loud enough in our pretenſions to faith, our faith is not in his word. We have no faith now in weapons inviſible and impalpable. Fire and ſteel ſuit us a great deal better. Chriſtians in ancient times confided in the divine promiſes; we in theſe days confide in acts of parliament. They truſted to the ſword of the Spirit, for the defence of truth and the defeat of error; we truſt to the ſword of the magiſtrate. God's promiſes do well enough, when the legiſlature is their ſurety: but if ye deſtroy the hedges and the bulwarks which the laws have raiſed, we ſhall cry, with Iſrael in the days of Ezekiel, "Behold, our bones are dried, our hope is loſt, we are cut off for our parts." There is no more ſecurity for the true religion. Proteſtantiſm is gone! all is loſt! We ſhall all be Papiſts preſently. Shall we never reflect on the denunciation of the prophet, "Curſed be the man that truſteth in man, and maketh fleſh his arm, and whoſe heart departeth from the Lord?" Let me tell thoſe people ſo diſtruſtful in God's providence and promiſes, and ſo confident in the arm of fleſh, that the true religion never flouriſhed ſo much, never ſpread ſo rapidly, as when, inſtead of perſecuting, it was perſecuted; inſtead of obtaining ſupport from human ſanctions, it had all the terrors of the magiſtrate and of the laws armed againſt it. "Do we provoke the Lord to jealouſy; are we ſtronger than he?"

Thus, I hope, it has been made ſufficiently evident, (ſo the firſt chapter ends), that neither the example nor the precepts, either of Chriſt, the divine author of the evangelical inſtitution, or of his apoſtles, authoriſe the uſe of the ſword, or any ſuch carnal weapons, for the advancement of religion; that they fortify our minds with meekneſs, faith, and patience to bear, but in no caſe permit us to inflict, perſecution, not even in requital of that which we ourſelves have formerly been made to ſuffer; that the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch unſanctified meaſures is, to ſubvert the *power*, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing the *form*, of godlineſs, and to make us baniſh the *ſpirit* of our religion, that charity which animates the whole, to a mere lifeleſs *figure*."

"As to the propriety, conſidered in a political light, of giving ſuch a toleration to Papiſts in Scotland, as has been already granted in England and Ireland, (ſays the Doctor, in his ſecond chapter), I muſt obſerve, that this is a point, the deciſion of which belongs properly to the legiſlature. To me it appears particularly improper in eccleſiaſtical judicatories to meddle with it. It is a queſtion ſolely regarding the ſafety of the body-politic. If the conſtitution will not be endangered by ſuch a meaſure, the principles of reaſon, and conſequently of ſound policy, and alſo the principles of Chriſtianity, as has been ſhown, lead us to conclude, that it ought to be adopted; otherwiſe, not. Now the queſtion in regard to the danger of the conſtitution is ſurely of the department of the eſtates of the kingdom aſſembled in parliament. And though every little borough-corporation, pariſh-meeting, ſociety of artificers and others, corporate and not corporate, weavers, coblers, porters, &c. &c. preſume, that they are wiſe enough to direct the King, Lords, and Commons, and that they themſelves underſtand better what concerns the intereſt, ſecurity, and government of the nation, this abſurd conduct cannot hurt ſuch ſocieties. They have no reputation to loſe. Great allowances ought to be made, and will be made, by ſuperiors, for their folly and ignorance. But would it become the ſupreme judicatory, and repreſentative, of this national church, in imitation of ſuch examples, to ſtep out of their line, and, without the moſt urgent neceſſity, to obtrude upon the legiſlative body their advice unaſked? Nothing, in my opinion, would more effectually leſſen the dignity of that venerable court.—

But are not our eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies the natural guardians of our religion? In one ſenſe I admit, that both our paſtors and our eccleſiaſtical judicatories are guardians in their ſeveral ſpheres. But this implies no more, than that, when they apprehend danger, they ought to double their diligence in uſing the ſpiritual weapons above taken notice of, which the goſpel ſupplies them with, for defending the people againſt ſeduction of every kind; and that, if there has been any remiſſneſs in diſcharging

the miniſterial duties in time paſt, there may be more vigilance and greater exertions in time to come. But their guardianſhip, I imagine, never extended ſo far as to intitle them, from any fancied neceſſity, to counteract the very ſpirit of their religion, and, for their maſter's ſervice, to oppoſe alike his precepts and example. Yet ſuch is manifeſtly the nature of that recourſe to the ſecular arm ſo ſtrenuouſly argued for by ſome; a recourſe which originated among Papiſts, and would have been left with Papiſts, if Proteſtants had been in all reſpects conſiſtent with themſelves *.

In every ſtate, as in every individual, there is a right of ſelf preſervation, which implies that of protecting itſelf againſt violence offered, either from without or from within, and of repelling force by force; and it is the duty of the magiſtrate, not only to defend the community when attacked, but to watch for its ſafety, and to prevent every danger which may be foreſeen, as well as to remove that which is preſent.

Opinion is naturally beyond the juriſdiction of magiſtracy: as however opinion has great influence on practice, the open profeſſion of ſuch opinions as are manifeſtly ſubverſive of the natural or civil rights of the ſociety, or of individuals, is undoubtedly to be regarded as an overt act which falls under the cogniſance of the magiſtrate. It is only in this view that opinion ought to be held as coming under his juriſdiction. Conſidered in a religious view, as true or falſe, orthodox or heterodox, and conſequently as affecting our ſpiritual and eternal intereſts, it is certainly not of the department of the ſecular powers. Yet this diſtinction has not always been obſerved.—

When the public peace is in danger, it is the magiſtrate's duty to interpoſe. Sedition or rebellion is not intitled to take ſhelter in religious ſentiments; nor can the plea of liberty of conſcience juſtly avail any man, for invading the liberty or property, ſacred or civil, of another. So much for what appears to be the original rights of the civil power in what concerns ſects in religion. It muſt be owned, however, that there are many particular circumſtances, which, when they occur, ought, in a great meaſure, to reſtrain the exertion of a power otherwiſe warrantable. When parties are already formed, and of long continuance, though their fundamental principles be unfriendly to the rights of ſociety, their numbers, and weight, and other conſiderations, may render an indulgence, otherwiſe unmerited, the more eligible meaſure, becauſe in its conſequences the leſs evil. It may however be remarked in paſſing, that though there be ſeveral prudential conſiderations which may render it proper to extend favour to thoſe whoſe tenents, or temper, or both, ſhow that they but ill deſerve it, no conſideration can give the magiſtrate a right to perſecute any party whoſe principles, viewed in a political light, are no wiſe unfriendly to the rights of their fellow-citizens, or of the ſtate, and whoſe diſpoſition and conduct is peaceable and inoffenſive.

Now to apply the principles above laid down to the caſe in hand; what ſhall we ſay of the tenets of Papiſts in regard to the ſecular powers? Are they, or are they not friendly to civil government in general, or to the preſent government of this iſland in particular? As to the firſt of theſe queſtions, all Papiſts, it muſt be owned, acknowledge a certain obedience to be due to a foreign and independent power, the Pope. And though this, by ſome of them (for they are not unanimous) is ſaid to be only in ſpirituals; yet, in matters of juriſdiction, it has never been poſſible to aſcertain the preciſe boundary between ſpirituals and temporals. Nor can it be denied, that in doubtful caſes, ſuperſtition inclines ſtrongly to favour the claims of the former. This, if it ſhould be an error, the ſuperſtitious always conſider as the ſafer error of the two. And in regard to the ſecond queſtion, they were doubtleſs, till of late, in this part of the iſland, generally diſaffected to the preſent royal family. Nor could any perſon wonder that it was ſo, conſidering the cauſe of the abdication of James VII. grandfather to the pretender.

As to the aſpect which their tenets bear to civil ſociety, it muſt be acknowledged, that to ſocial union their principles are no wiſe adverſe. Witneſs thoſe

* Short view, Rem. iii. "The very name of religious toleration is juſtly dear to every Proteſtant." He muſt be very ſhallow who does not perceive, that with ſuch Proteſtants as theſe writers, it is then only *the name* that is dear. "The idea of perſecution for conſcience ſake is moſt odious and deteſtable." Qu. Have they expected to be read by none but fools?

thoſe kingdoms and ſtates in Europe, where the whole, or the greater part, of the people are Popiſh. It has been remarked, however, that the Romiſh religion is not equally favourable to a free government as the Proteſtant. But tho' there be ſomething like a ſervility of ſpirit in implicit faith, or the belief of infallibility in any human tribunal, which is more congenial to political ſlavery, it cannot be ſaid that the former is incompatible with civil freedom. This country, as well as others, was free, even when Roman-Catholic; and it would not be juſt to deny, that there have been of that communion, eminent patrons of the liberties of the people.

As to the aſpect with which the party in general (I ſpeak not of individuals) eyes other ſects, it is certainly very unfavourable. Her doctrine concerning the ſpiritual ſtate, both here and hereafter, of all who dare diſpute her deciſions, whom ſhe denominates heretics and ſchiſmatics, does not tend to cheriſh affection towards them. In this, however, ſhe is not ſingular. The caſe is the ſame with all fanatical ſects. But as temper is not formed entirely by principle, but is often as much the reſult of habit and accidental circumſtances, there are great differences in this reſpect in different places. In thoſe Popiſh countries where they have none of any different ſect living among them, and little occaſion to know any thing of ſuch but by the repreſentations of their prieſts, it cannot be doubted, that the people put Proteſtants almoſt in the ſame claſs with demons. They conſider them as a ſort of devils incarnate. I muſt acknowledge, that in thoſe Proteſtant countries, or thoſe parts of Proteſtant countries, where they have no Papiſts, and conſequently know nothing of them but by hearſay, their judgement is equally unfavourable. But in thoſe nations which have long enjoyed the bleſſings of peace and toleration, where Proteſtants and Papiſts live together, as in Holland, where both are protected, and neither is allowed to injure the other, they come ſoon to conſider each other as human creatures and brethren, and to contract mutual friendſhips and intimacies, ſcarcely minding the difference of religious ſentiments. And even in this country, it is notorious, that in thoſe parts where Papiſts are leaſt known, they are moſt heated and dreaded. There is nothing which more ſtrongly recommends toleration to a benevolent heart, than that it has a powerful tendency to humanize the tempers of the moſt oppoſite ſects, and conciliate them to a friendly intercourſe of good offices to one another. This ſerves to lay the mind open to conviction, by removing, gently and gradually, thoſe rooted prejudices which are the greateſt obſtruction to it.

Upon the whole, the queſtion comes to this, Whether ſo inconſiderable a party (for both in number of people and in property their proportion is ſo very ſmall as not to be worth mentioning) of ſuch a character as is above delineated, can be of any danger to the conſtitution of this country? It ought always to be taken into conſideration, that it is not propoſed that they be admitted into any, even the loweſt offices of magiſtracy or legiſlation, or any place of public truſt. It ought alſo to be remembered, that if at any time any unforeſeen evil or danger ſhould ariſe from that quarter, the legiſlature, of which they can make no part, and on which, conſidering their very great inferiority in all reſpects, they can have no conceivable influence, have it always in their power to give a timely check to it.

In regard to the malign aſpect of Popery towards ſectaries, as ſhe calls them, whom doubtleſs ſhe conſiders as rebellious children; has not experience in this and other countries, fully evinced, that even Papiſts can be ſoftened by good uſage; that lenity and toleration deaden the aſperity which the bare name of heretic (till they become familiariſed to their perſons) raiſes in their minds? And as to the diſaffection of which they are ſuſpected to the reigning family, why ſhould we judge more harſhly of them on this head, than of thoſe Proteſtants amongſt us, much more numerous, who have been known formerly to have the ſame attachments to the Stuart family with them? I do not ſpeak thus to raiſe an odium againſt any party: I would be the laſt man in Britain to attempt it. Beſides, it is evident to every one who reflects, that we can have nothing to fear from our Nonjurors, a party which has been ſenſibly declining for many years paſt. I only mention them for the ſake of obſerving that if we admit that many families once in that way, have, within theſe laſt thirty years, changed their political creed, it does not ſeem reaſonable to ſuſpect, that

many Papiſts, in the ſame time, may not have changed theirs.

In ſome reſpects the change is leſs to Papiſts than to them. The divine right of monarchical government on the Patriarchal plan, as it is called, and conſequently the indefeaſible, hereditary right of the abdicated family to the crown of theſe realms, is no principle of Popery. The attachment of Papiſts was a perſonal attachment, or at moſt a conſequence of their attachment to the cauſe for which that family ſuffered. But in regard to forms of government, or particular governors, their religion leaves them at full liberty. A Papiſt may be a republican, or a friend to monarchy, abſolute or limited. In theſe matters he is no way confined by his religion. And that he ſhould change in an attachment not founded in principle, is nothing extraordinary. He may be convinced, that preſcription takes place in government, and, for the peace of ſociety, ought to take place, as well as in other matters; that, without admitting this principle, there would be few or no legal rulers now exiſting in the world, as moſt ſovereignties may be traced backwards to manifeſt uſurpation. Whatever judgement therefore he may form of the Revolution, there is no inconſiſtency in his being a loyal ſubject to the preſent royal family. And in regard to ſuch as ſhall take the oath preſcribed by the act of parliament for England, or the like oath propoſed for Papiſts here, I ſhall only ſay, that it would be extremely uncharitable to ſuppoſe them all perjured.

But it is ſaid, "The diſpenſing power of the Pope, his infallibility, the principle, That no faith is to be kept with heretics, all ſerve to invalidate their promiſes and oaths, eſpecially when given to thoſe whom they regard as heretics." That the Popes have claimed ſuch a diſpenſing power in looſing the obligation of the moſt ſolemn vows and contracts, and that many people have been blind enough to credit this moſt arrogant and impious claim, it would be to give the lie to all hiſtory, even the moſt authentic, to deny. Such alſo is the power they have claimed and exerciſed of depoſing kings and emperors, and of abſolving their ſubjects from their allegiance. Such alſo are their pretenſions to infallibility, their corrupt maxims ſubverſive of faith given to heretics; in all which they have been ſupported by hireling and proſtitute writers among the clergy, friars, canoniſts, and expectants of preferment in the church. But to ſay thus much is one thing, and to ſay that theſe points are received univerſally as doctrines of the church, is another. We ought to be juſt even to enemies.

In regard to the laſt of the above maxims, That faith is not to be kept with heretics, though it was never aſſerted, in ſo many words, by any council, it is unqueſtionable, that the council of Conſtance came ſo near giving it their ſanction, in the decree they pronounced for the caſe of the Emperor's conſcience, whom they had ſeduced to act a moſt perfidious part, as well as in the whole of their infamous proceedings with regard to Huſs, that though it cannot be called an eſtabliſhed principle of their religion, it has received that countenance from the ſpiritual powers among them, which furniſhes but too good a handle for the clamours and jealouſies of Proteſtants. And I will acknowledge in paſſing, that as I could put no confidence, where religion is concerned, in the faith of a man who would vindicate a procedure ſo ſubverſive of that ſecurity in engagements which is the moſt eſſential bond of ſociety, ſo I can never conſider that man as dangerous, who, in this age and country, has the egregious folly to attempt the vindication. But in general, when recourſe is had to experience, I am ſatisfied, there is no ground to conſider it as a maxim ſo prevalent in that party as to deſtroy all faith in their promiſes. If its prevalence were ſo great, what hindered them, in England from taking the oath of ſupremacy, or the formula in Scotland? Theſe would have ſecured them againſt many inconveniencies to which their religion expoſed them. And if there be ſome inſtances of their ſwearing falſely, from the temptation of intereſt, can we ſay that perjury is abſolutely unexampled amongſt ourſelves? It is well known, that in England Papiſts had it in their power to relieve themſelves, by means of certain oaths, before the paſſing of the late act. But thoſe oaths were different from that now enacted. Now, a man who thinks he may take oaths, and be under no obligation, or who thinks he has it in his power to obtain a diſpenſation from that obligation, has no reaſon to make any diſtinction between one oath and another. The diſpenſing power ſerves equally for all.

Now

Now that thoſe in England, who, on no conſideration, could be induced to take the oaths formerly required, do not heſitate to take that required by the late act, is evidence ſufficient to a reaſonable perſon, that they conſider this as what they may, with a good conſcience, take, but not the former.

"But how is it poſſible," ſome will object, "that they can conſcientiouſly abjure ſo many high prerogatives of the Sovereign Pontiff, the ſucceſſor of St Peter, and vicar of Jeſus Chriſt; ſuch as, his diſpenſing power, his ſupremacy in temporals, and his infallibility; ſince it is unqueſtionable that theſe prerogatives he has both claimed, and pretended to exerciſe?" To this I can only anſwer, That it is a known fact, that Roman-Catholics themſelves are not unanimous in regard to the juſtice of thoſe claims. For example, it is a tenet univerſally held by them, That the church is infallible; but in the explanation of this tenet they differ exceedingly, as well as in the directions they give where we ought to ſeek for her unerring oracles. Some lead us to the Pope, with whom alone, according to them, this amazing privilege is lodged; ſome to the Pope and Ecumenical Council acting in conjunction; ſome to the Council though without the Pope; ſome to the Church Univerſal, that is, to whatever opinions univerſally obtain in thoſe they term Catholic countries.

So notorious it is, that even among Papiſts there are that are more, and there are that are leſs, Papiſtical. Accordingly ſome even of their writers denominate thoſe *Pontificii* Papiſts, by way of diſtinction, who defend all the exorbitant claims of the Papacy. Nay, ſo certain it is that the Romaniſts themſelves are greatly divided on this head, that the famous council of Conſtance above referred to, as well as the council of Piſa, that preceded it, aſſerted its own ſuperiority above the Pope in the moſt expreſs terms, and indeed acted in an entire conformity to this doctrine. It is not juſt, therefore, (for our religion does not permit us to ſpeak deceitfully even for God), to talk of the Pope's infallibility, diſpenſing power in reſpect of oaths, and the lawfulneſs of perfidy to heretics, as doctrines univerſally received in the church of Rome. Theſe, and ſeveral other ſuch abſurdities, will be found, from a proper attention to eccleſiaſtic hiſtory, to have ebbed and flowed, in that church, with knowledge and ignorance. In proportion as knowledge increaſed, thoſe opinions loſt credit; as ignorance increaſed, they gained credit. Whatever influence authority may have on weak minds, in making ſpeculative dogmas, however nonſenſical, be received with veneration, there is a principle in human nature, which, till the mind is wholly immerſed in ſuperſtition and darkneſs, will effectually prevent ſuch moral abſurdities from being generally aſſented to. Nay, a principle of honour, as well as a ſenſe of right, go far to check the progreſs of thoſe diſgraceful maxims.

I ſhall only add to the above remarks, that even in regard to thoſe whoſe conformity to the civil eſtabliſhment may not be ſo cordial as could be wiſhed, it will ſtill have this good effect viewed in a political light, that it will be a check both on their actions and on their converſation. Principles openly and ſolemnly abjured, it may be ſuppoſed that men, eſpecially thoſe of a ſacred character, will, for their own ſakes, not be forward to avow, and ſtill leſs to inculcate. There is therefore here a real acceſſion of ſtrength to the civil eſtabliſhment, without the ſmalleſt prejudice that I can perceive to the Proteſtant intereſt.

But the incompetency even of the Britiſh parliament for making ſuch a change in the laws wherein religion is concerned, has been boldly aſſerted. The eſtabliſhment of the preſent Preſbyterian church of Scotland was declared, January 1707, a fundamental article of the union of the two kingdoms, not to be altered afterwards even by the joint legiſlature of both. In the act declaring this, there is a clauſe perpetually confirming the 5th act parl. 1690, which was the act eſtabliſhing Preſbytery, and ratifying the confeſſion of faith. In this there is a general ratification of all former acts made againſt Popery. But the acts now propoſed to be in part repealed, could never be comprehended in that clauſe, becauſe they were not former but poſterior acts. The writers of the *Short View* argue in a way entirely their own. "The acts," ſay they, "directly relating to this one, and conſequently ratified with it, and unalterably eſtabliſhed, are chiefly three, act 2. parl. 1700, act 3. 1702, act 2. 1703." Now that theſe acts are related to act 5. 1690, as they all relate to religion, no body will diſpute; but that they were

ratified

ratified by an act ten or twelve years before they were made, theſe gentlemen have the whole honour of diſcovering. Let it be obſerved, that theſe acts, tho' poſterior to the act 1690, were prior to the act 1707. Yet this act for the ſecurity of religion at the Union, paſſes over thoſe more recent acts in relation to Popery, and only declares perpetual an act made ſo many years before them; thereby plainly leaving the intermediate acts to the wiſdom of the Britiſh legiſlature, to confirm, repeal, or alter, at any time, as they ſhould find expedient, and only giving perpetuity to the act that firſt, after the Revolution, eſtabliſhed the Preſbyterian form of government, and ratified the confeſſion of faith *.——

The repeal can never do hurt; becauſe it is the repeal of a ſtatute, which ſeems, even in the judgement of our antagoniſts, to have done no good. So far from occaſioning the decreaſe of the number of Papiſts, they have been, we are told, increaſing for many years backwards. And this perhaps is the firſt inſtance in which the inefficacy of a law has been uſed as an argument againſt the repeal of it. That act, though ſevere, is not ſevere enough to exirpate Papiſts; at the ſame time it is much too ſevere, conſidering the ſentiments and manners of the times, for any but perſons of no character, to aſſiſt in executing it. Thus it gives Papiſts all the advantage of a plauſible plea of ſuffering perſecution, without being materially hurt by actual perſecution. In ſome other countries, where Romaniſts, though not of the eſtabliſhment, have enjoyed for centuries a legal toleration, we do not hear of any clamours about their increaſe, or of any dread of danger ariſing from them: why then ſhould not this nation, ſince we have ſo ſtrong evidence that ſeverity will not anſwer, be induced to make the experiment of what may be effected by the more humane and more Chriſtian-like policy of other nations? In many inſtances, as has been obſerved by the beſt writers on juriſprudence, the unconſcionable ſeverity of laws has rendered them uſeleſs, nay made them ſerve to promote, inſtead of checking, the growth of thoſe evils againſt which they are pointed. They make thoſe very perſons ſcreen offenders, who would otherwiſe aſſiſt in convicting them.

[*To be continued.*]

* [We inſert the clauſe, viz. "Her Majeſty, with advice and conſent foreſaid, ratifies, approves, and for ever confirms, the 5th act of the firſt parliament of K. William and Queen Mary, intitled, *Act ratifying the Confeſſion of Faith, and ſettling Preſbyterian church-government*, with the haill other acts of parliament relating thereto, in proſecution of the declaration of the eſtates of this kingdom containing the Claim of Right, bearing date the 11th of April 1689; and her Majeſty, with advice and conſent foreſaid, expreſsly provides and declares, That the foreſaid true Proteſtant religion, contained in the above mentioned Confeſſion of Faith, with the form and purity of worſhip preſently in uſe within this church, and its Preſbyterian church government and diſcipline; that is to ſay, the government of the church by kirk-ſeſſions, preſbyteries, provincial ſynods, and general aſſemblies, all eſtabliſhed by the foreſaid acts of parliament, purſuant to the Claim of Right, ſhall remain and continue unalterable; and that the ſaid Preſbyterian government ſhall be the only government of the church within the kingdom of Scotland."]

EDINBURGH.

The Scotch Preacher. Vol. 3. [39. 42.] 2s. 6d. ſewed. *Dickſon.* —— This volume contains ſixteen ſermons, by the following miniſters, viz. 1. 2. Andrew Hunter, D. D. Joſ. xxiv. 15.; — 3. 4. Robert Petrie, V. D. M. Heb. xiii. 15. 16. 17.; — 5. Thomas Somerville, Matt. xxvii. 54.; — 6. 7. John M'Farlan, D. D. Rom. xii. 10.; — 8. 9. William Macgill, V. D. M. John, xvii. 20. 21.; — 10. 11. George Campbell, D. D. 1. Cor. i. 25.; — 12. John Ogilvie, D. D. Lam. i. 12.; — 13. Andrew Gray, D. D. Pſ. lxxxv. 6.; — 14. John Mackenzie, V. D. M. Job, iii. 17. 18. 19.; — 15. 16. William Leechman, D. D. 2. Tim. i. 7.

The light in which public calamities ought to be viewed, and the uſe we ſhould make of them: A ſermon [from Luke, xiii. 1.—6.] preached in the Engliſh chapel at Dunkeld, on the general faſt, Feb. 9. 1779. By the Rev. James Paterſon, M. D. 6d. *Elliot.*

Britannia: A poem, on the proſpect of the approaching campaign. 8d. *Dickſon.*

Scots Anticipation; or, A ſummary of a debate; containing the ſubſtance of ſome of the principal ſpeeches that are to be delivered in the G——l A——y of the Ch—h of S——d, upon an overture tranſmitted by the P——l S——d of G—— and A— relating to Popery. 1s. 6d. *Creech* ——An imitation of a pamphlet publiſhed at London in November laſt before the meeting of the parliament. [40. 614.]

The Repeal: An occaſional poem. Calculated for the times. 6d. *Gray.* —— *Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit utile dulci.*

Mo-

MODEST MERIT RELIEVED.

Lines addreſſed to an amiable nobleman, who generouſly relieved a worthy young gentleman from undeſerved misfortunes.

AH! ſee where modeſt MERIT ſits alone,
By all deſerted, penſive, and forlorn,
Like JOB, lamenting he was ever born;
On his wan cheek, of palid hue,
Diſtreſs does every day her waſting wrongs renew,
While Ignorance, regardleſs of his moan,
With proud Diſdain, and with averted eye,
Stalks on regardleſs by,
Nor feels ſoft Pity's generous throes,
For human weakneſs, human woes:
Hope ſcatters not one chearing ray,
Deſpair waits, eager for his prey.
But ſee! HUMANITY, with pitying eyes,
From the dark cloud does like the ſun ariſe:
Soon gloomy Sorrow flies away,
And Joy breaks on the ſoul like to returning day!
By her ſoft aid dejected MERIT rears
His head, in native majeſty appears;
Inſpir'd with Gratitude *, prepares
To eaſe his fellow-mortals cares;
For MERIT lives not for himſelf alone,
But, with expanded arms,
Delights to ſhield the wretched from all harms.
Then MERIT, not in vain,
HUMANITY relieves from ſtern Misfortune's chain;
She adds more ſtrength to Heaven's high cauſe;
To Virtue's aid more proſelytes ſhe draws;
Gives power to a noble mind
To labour for the weal of humankind.
While IGNORANCE, ſwoln with wealth and pride,
The tender feelings may deride,
Uſeleſs, alone, ſhe may on *ſelf* depend,
Without one heart-felt joy, or faithful friend,
Live unregarded, and neglected die:
For her no boſom heaves a tender ſigh;
For her no tear drops from a grief-ſwoln eye;
Her memory like the body dies,
And all ſhe was in dark oblivion lies.
But VIRTUE to immortal realms of light
Wings confident her ardent flight,
Conſcious, in rectitude of mind,
She leaves a deathleſs fame behind.

WM AUGUSTUS WILLIS, M. D.

Jan. 21. 1779.

* *The young gentleman was no ſooner relieved, than with a noble ſpirit he relieved two debtors from confinement, and ſaved their families from ruin.*

Mr URBAN, *April* 1779.

THE following admirable "Elegy to Miſs DASHWOOD, in the manner of OVID," by Mr HAMMOND *, hath not yet found a place among his works. In *Dodſley's* Collection there is an anſwer to it, which, though generally aſcribed to Lord Hervey, was more probably written by Lady M. W. Montague.

Yours, &c. EUGENIO.

O Say, thou dear poſſeſſor of my breaſt,
Where's now my boaſted liberty and reſt!
Where the gay moments which I once have known!
O, where that heart I fondly thought my own!
From place to place I ſolitary roam,
Abroad uneaſy, nor content at home.
I ſcorn the beauties common eyes adore;
The more I view them, feel thy worth the more;
Unmov'd I hear them ſpeak, or ſee them fair,
And only think on thee, who art not there.
In vain would books their formal ſuccour lend,
Nor Wit nor Wiſdom can relieve their friend;
Wit can't deceive the pain I now endure,
And Wiſdom ſhews the ill without the cure.
When from thy ſight I waſte the tedious day,
A thouſand ſchemes I form, and things to ſay;
But when thy preſence gives the time I ſeek,
My heart's ſo full, I wiſh, but cannot ſpeak.
And could I ſpeak with eloquence and eaſe,
Till now not ſtudious of the art to pleaſe,
Could I, at woman who ſo oft exclaim,
Expoſe (nor bluſh) thy triumph and my ſhame,
Abjure thoſe maxims I ſo lately priz'd,
And court that ſex I fooliſhly deſpis'd,
Own thou haſt ſoften'd my obdurate mind,
And thou reveng'd the wrongs of womankind;

* *See the note on next column.*

* *James Hammond, Eſq; the ſecond ſon of a good family, was introduced to the Earl of Cheſterfield in* 1728, *being then about eighteen; and, from a happy and ſingular conformity of character, manners, and inclinations, ſoon became particularly attached to his Lordſhip. His father, Anthony Hammond, Eſq; one of the commiſſioners of the navy, was accounted a good ſpeaker in parliament, and had the name of "ſilver-tongued Hammond" given to him by Lord Bolingbroke. — Born a poet, and endowed with a conſiderable ſhare of ſenſibility as well as delicacy, James was particularly happy in imitating thoſe great maſters of antiquity whoſe writings contain the moſt faithful repreſentations of the human heart; and, in particular, the poet who in this reſpect has excelled them all, Tibullus. — His heart was a moſt friendly one; and he enjoyed every opportunity of obliging in a manner peculiar to himſelf. Lord Cheſterfield loved him, with all his ſingularities, which in ſome meaſure were his own. Their intimacy grew to a very great degree, and ſhewed itſelf even after the death of the poet. He teſtified his regard and eſteem for this amiable companion, by taking care of what he left behind him, his Delia and his works. Theſe, conſiſting of elegies, written in the true ſtyle of Tibullus, had been intruſted to his care; and they were publiſhed by him, ennobled by a preface, expreſſive of his feelings, and worthy of his pen. Mr Hammond, at the time of his death, which happened June* 7. 1742, *was equerry to the Prince of Wales, and repreſentative in parliament for Truro.*

Loſt

Loſt were my words, and fruitleſs all my pain,
In vain to tell thee, all I write in vain;
My humble ſighs ſhall only reach thy ears,
And all my eloquence ſhall be my tears.
And now (for more I never muſt pretend)
Hear me not as thy lover, but thy friend;
Thouſands will fain thy little heart enſnare,
For without danger none like thee are fair;
But wiſely chuſe who beſt deſerves thy flame;
So ſhall the choice itſelf become thy fame;
Nor yet deſpiſe, though void of winning art,
The plain and honeſt courtſhip of the heart:
The ſkilful tongue in love's perſuaſive lore,
Though leſs it feels, will pleaſe and flatter more,
And, meanly learned in that guilty trade,
Can long abuſe a fond, unthinking maid.
And ſince their lips, ſo knowing to deceive,
Thy unexperienc'd youth might ſoon believe;
And ſince their tears, in falſe ſubmiſſion dreſt,
Might thaw the icy coldneſs of thy breaſt;
O! ſhut thine eyes to ſuch deceitful woe:
Caught by the beauty of thy outward ſhow,
Like me they do not love, whate'er they ſeem,
Like me—with paſſion founded on eſteem.

CONGRATULATORY VERSES on the honourable acquittal of Admiral KEPPEL.

HAil! ye ſons of Freedom, hail!
KEPPEL triumphs o'er his foes;
Fraud nor Cunning could prevail,
Truth did all her powers oppoſe.

Virtue pleaded warm his cauſe,
Juſtice ſat at KEPPEL's bar;
Falſehood there could prove no flaws,
Honour clear'd her fav'rite tar.

See him now with glory crown'd,
Envy hangs her ſnaky head;
Malice ſtrews with foam the ground,
Slander's tongue is tipt with lead.

Like the ſun, juſt clear'd from clouds,
He now diſpels the cheerleſs gloom;
Whilſt circles of admiring crowds
Rejoice to hear their KEPPEL's doom.

Fame his triumph ſhall reſound,
Loud as Neptune's ſtormy voice;
Angels ſhall repeat the ſound,
Heaven and Earth ſhall both rejoice!

Tune each inſtrument of joy,
Fill the goblet, fill it high;
Mars ſhall pledge each tippling boy
With a bumper in the ſky.

Let every heart with freedom warm,
Share the animating joy;
KEPPEL now defies the ſtorm,
Which rag'd his glory to deſtroy.

The fiery trial ſerv'd to prove
His honour free from ſpot or ſtain;
Oppreſſion rous'd his country's love,
Whilſt Malice ſhot her ſhafts in vain.

Thus Juſtice triumphs in the end,
And Virtue ſmiles, tho' ſore oppreſs'd;
Thus KEPPEL finds a real friend
In ev'ry worthy, honeſt breaſt.

BRITANNIA ſhall his praiſe proclaim,
'Till GALLIA trembles at the ſound;
His daſtard foes have miſs'd their aim,
And rais'd that worth they could not wound.

In vain the ſtorms of party-rage,
In vain Corruption rears her creſt;
Tho' ſhameleſs is this venal age,
See Virtue ſteels brave KEPPEL's breaſt.

Long may he live, the ſcourge of thoſe
Who glory in their country's ſhame;
May deep Diſgrace o'erwhelm his foes,
While Honour guards her hero's name.

Bath, Feb. 25.

STYLE and CONDUCT.

ROme ſaw, by Cæſar's rapid ſtyle,
The ruling paſſion of his mind;
From WOLFE's, the boaſt of Britain's iſle,
We knew he would not lag behind.

One whom the Muſe diſdains to name,
Whoſe ſtyle was ſluggiſh as his ſword,
Would figure in the field of Fame,
By av'rice, not by glory 'lur'd.

While Diſſipation led the van,
Low-timid Caution cloſed the rear;
Whores, fiddlers, fops, enjoy'd the plan,
But ev'ry vet'ran dropt a tear.

BRITANNIA wiſh'd to touch his heart,
But love of country was not there;
She kneel'd—ſhe claim'd a parent's part,
But to the winds he gave her prayer.

O hadſt thou, in the natal hour,
Sunk harmleſs to the ſhades below,
Thoſe ills which time can never cure,
Had never mark'd thee Britain's foe.

Faction may ſpread her motley wing,
To ſcreen thee from the eye of law;
Put hope not to elude the ſting,
Which neither time nor art can draw.

Far from the ſocial haunts of men,
The tyrant * hid his guilty head,
Yet conſcious that he fled in vain,
In caverns howl'd his inward dread.

Shunn'd, by the public voice conſign'd
To cool contempt, and biting ſcorn,
What reſts to cheer thy guilty mind?
The curſe of millions yet unborn.

Abbot's Inch. F. D.

* *Tiberius.*

EXTEMPORE. [54]

NO herald prates, no poet feigns,
'Tis Nature's voice that now complains,
For Nature's child no more remains!—
Thus fly a few ſhort hours away,
And act the laſt ſoon ends the play;
Each image of thy LAD OF WARWICK
Extinct with thee, dear DAVID GARRICK!

Jan. 21. 1779. J. C.

HI-

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

ENGLAND. [166.]

The royal aſſent was given, by commiſſion, to the following bills, April 1.

An act for granting to his Majeſty additional duties upon the produce of the ſeveral duties under the management of the reſpective commiſſioners of the cuſtoms and exciſe in G. Britain. [189.]

An act for licenſing and regulating lottery-office keepers.

An act for defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia in that part of G. Britain called England, *for one year, beginning March 25. 1779.*

An act to continue ſeveral laws, relating to the giving further encouragement for the importation of naval ſtores from the Britiſh colonies in America; to the landing of rum or ſpirits of the Britiſh ſugar-plantations, before payment of the duties of exciſe; to the diſcontinuing the duties payable upon the importation of tallow, hogs lard, and greaſe; to the regulating the fees of officers of the cuſtoms, and naval officers in America; to the allowing the exportation of certain quantities of wheat, and other articles, to his Majeſty's ſugar-colonies in America; and to the allowing a drawback of the duties on rum ſhipped as ſtores, to be conſumed on board merchant-ſhips on their voyages.

An act to permit, during the preſent hoſtilities with France, certain goods, enumerated in the act of navigation, to be imported in Britiſh-built ſhips ſold to foreigners, and for releaſing ſhips and goods which have been ſeized in purſuance of the ſaid act.

An act to continue and amend an act 11° *Geo. III.* "*for the encouragement of the white-herring fiſhery.*"

An act for further continuing and extending the proviſions of two acts, 29° *Geo. II. and* 10° *Geo. III. for granting a bounty on certain ſpecies of Britiſh and Iriſh linens exported, and taking off the duties on the importation of foreign raw linen yarns, made of flax; and for granting a bounty on the exportation of Britiſh chequed and ſtriped linens, and upon Britiſh and Iriſh diapers, huckabacks, ſheeting, and other linen, of above a certain breadth.*

Seventeen bills concerning roads and other matters of police, and twenty-two private bills, none of which relate to Scotland.

By an order of council, of April 21. the bounties to ſeamen or landmen who enter voluntarily to ſerve in the navy, and the rewards for diſcovering ſeamen who ſecrete themſelves, are continued from the 30th of April to the 31ſt of July next incluſive. [105.]

On the 7th of March ſailed from St Helen's, Adm. Hughes, in the Superb, of 74 guns, with four 64 gun ſhips, a war-ſloop, and thirteen Indiamen, for the Eaſt Indies; ſingle ſhips for New York, Jamaica, Africa, and Liſbon; the Warwick, of 50 guns, Capt. Collins, for St Helena; and the Vengeance, of 74 guns, Capt. Maitland, with two frigates and two bombs, for the coaſt of Guinea.

Notice was given at the general poſt-office, London, March 10. that all letters, poſt paid, intended for the ſouthern provinces of America, would be conveyed to Savannah in Georgia by the Sandwich packet, Capt. Hill.

On the 15th of March was brought into Valentiac river in Ireland, by the Ranger privateer of Briſtol, Capt. Brown, the Lewis Eliſabeth, Capt. Le Gun, a French Eaſt-Indiaman, valued at 40,000l.

The Prince of Orange packet-boat, with the mail from Holland which ſhould have reached London on the 16th of April, was taken by a French privateer, and carried into Dunkirk. The mail was thrown overboard.

Towards the end of April, Adm. Gambier, in the Ardent, with the Raleigh and Unicorn frigates, arrived at Portſmouth, and the Richmond frigate at Plymouth. They left New York the 6th of April.

An armed boat belonging to a French privateer, ſtole into Sheerneſs harbour, April 20. and cut the Thorn ſloop, Capt. Wardlaw, from her moorings, and ſhe drove on ſhore. They not being detected, proceeded to Chatham: but, after a ſhort ſkirmiſh, were taken by the Leviathan's boat, which was then rowing-guard, wherein one man was killed, and two wounded.

On the 8th of March, the Achilles of Folkſtone, and the Hector of Guernſey, letters of marque, took, in the bay of Biſcay, a French ſhip of 300 tons; on board of which they put James Snook mariner, of Feverſham, five men from the Hector, and left four Frenchmen on board. But, two days after, the prize was retaken by a French frigate; the commander of which took all the Engliſh out, except Snook, who hid himſelf in the hold, put three more Frenchmen on board, and then parted from the cap-

ture. The prize-maſter found Snook in the hold; and having loſt his courſe, ordered him to ſteer the veſſel: which he did, and brought her ſafe into Guernſey, making the Frenchmen believe it was Belleiſle.

At the anniverſary meeting of the marine ſociety April 15. it was found, that the number of landmen volunteers cloathed by the ſociety was,

Since April laſt -	2784	
From the commencement of the ſociety -		8201
Poor boys fitted ſince January 1776 -	2202	
—from the commencement		9143
Total men and boys		17344

A moſt unprecedented murder was committed, on Friday the 7th of April, on the perſon of Miſs Martha Reay by the Reverend Mr Hackman, who, being deſperately in love with her, watched her from the play, and, as ſhe was ſtepping into her coach amidſt a crowd of people, clapt a piſtol to her ear, and ſhot her through the head. She dropped, and expired without a groan. His intent was inſtantly to have deſtroyed himſelf, but in that he failed; and not endeavouring to make his eſcape, he was ſecured, and committed to priſon. He appeared to be perfectly in his ſenſes, and endeavoured to juſtify the act by a ſudden impulſe that for the moment convulſed his mind. The deceaſed had for more than fifteen years been connected with Lord Sandwich, and had been the mother of nine children, five of whom are now alive. At the time when Lord Sandwich was firſt captivated by her perſon, ſhe was in her ſixteenth year, and an apprentice to a mantuamaker in Clerkenwell. This murder affords a melancholy proof, that there is no act ſo contrary to reaſon that reaſonable men will not commit when under the dominion of their paſſions. It is impoſſible to convey an idea of the impreſſion made on all ranks of people when it was firſt reported; the manner of it ſtruck every feeling heart with horror.

On his trial at the Old Bailey, April 16. for the wilful murder of Miſs Martha Reay, as the indictment charged him with murder aforethought, he pleaded Not guilty.

The fact was clearly proved. One of the witneſſes, Mary Anderſon, a fruit-woman, ſaw a gentleman in black follow two ladies and a gentleman (Signora Galli, the deceaſed, and Mr Macnamara). The firſt lady got into the carriage, and Miſs Reay was following. The witneſs ſaw the gentleman in black pull Miſs Reay by the gown, and at the ſame inſtant take two piſtols out of his pocket: one of which he fired at the deceaſed, and ſhe inſtantly fell: the other piſtol he directed to his own head; and he alſo fell. When on the ground, he beat his forehead with the piſtol in his right hand, and called to the people to kill him.

Mr Mahon, an apothecary, corroborated the evidence of the fruit woman. He wrenched out of Mr Hackman's hand the piſtol with which he was beating himſelf, as he lay on the ground, took him to his houſe, dreſſed his wounds, and accompanied him to the Shakeſpeare tavern, whither Miſs Reay's body had been carried.

The priſoner being called upon to make his defence, addreſſed the judge and jury as follows.

"I ſhould not have troubled the court with the examination of witneſſes to ſupport the charge againſt me, had I not thought that pleading Guilty to the indictment gave an indication of contemning death, not ſuitable to my preſent condition, and was in ſome meaſure being acceſſory to a ſecond peril of my life; and I likewiſe thought, that the juſtice of my country ought to be ſatisfied, by ſuffering my offences to be proved, and the fact eſtabliſhed by evidence.

I ſtand here this day the moſt wretched of human beings, and confeſs myſelf criminal in a high degree; yet, while I acknowledge, with ſhame and repentance, that my determination againſt my own life was formal and complete, I proteſt, with that regard to truth which becomes my ſituation, that the will to deſtroy her, who was ever dearer to me than life, was never mine till the very moment of the deed I deplore.

Before this dreadful act, I truſt nothing will be found in the tenor of my life which the common charity of mankind will not excuſe. I have no wiſh to avoid the puniſhment which the laws of my country appoint for my crime; but being already too unhappy to feel a puniſhment in death, or a ſatisfaction in life, I ſubmit myſelf with penitence and patience to the diſpoſal and judgement of Almighty God, and to the conſequences

ces of this inquiry into my conduct and intentions."

To ſupport the truth of what the priſoner ſaid in his defence, one of the letters taken out of his pocket by the conſtable was authenticated and read. It was directed, *To Frederick Booth, Eſq; Craven ſtreet in the Strand.*

"My dear Frederick,

When this reaches you I ſhall be no more; but do not let my unhappy fate diſtreſs you too much. I have ſtrove againſt it as long as poſſible, but it now overpowers me. You well know where my affections were placed; my having by ſome means or other loſt her's (an idea which I could not ſupport) has driven me to madneſs. The world will condemn me, but your good heart will pity me. God bleſs you, my dear Fred. Would I had a ſum to leave you, to convince you of my great regard! You was my only friend. I have hid one circumſtance from you, which gives me great pain: I owe Mr Knight, of Goſport, 100 l. for which he has the writings of my houſes; but I hope in God, when they are ſold, and all other matters collected, they will be nearly enough to ſettle our account. May Almighty God bleſs you and yours with comfort and happineſs, and may you ever be a ſtanger to the pangs I now feel! May Heaven protect my beloved woman, and forgive this act, which alone could relieve me from a world of miſery I have long endured! Oh! if it ſhould ever be in your power to do her any act of friendſhip, remember your faithful friend,

J. HACKMAN.
Guilty DEATH."

Judge Blackſtone, in his charge to the jury, ſaid, that the law did not require a long-formed ſcheme to kill a perſon, to come within the crime of murder. If a man fired at A to kill him, but inſtead of A happened to kill B, the law held it to be murder, becauſe it was in the commiſſion of a felonious act firing at A. If the priſoner had in his endeavour to diſpatch himſelf ſhot himſelf, it for the like reaſon would have been murder. He was ſorry to ſay, that the priſoner's caſe bore much ſtronger againſt him. He had two piſtols about him, which had the appearance of a double deſign. As to the plea of inſanity, or phrenſy of the moment, which the priſoner called it, it was not every ſtart of paſſion, every tumultuous heat of the brain, which could be allowed as an excuſe for the crime of murder. There muſt be a total deprivation of the ſenſes, ſo that in no action of life he was capable of conducting himſelf. If the jury could ſuppoſe the priſoner at the time to be under that influence, they muſt acquit him; otherwiſe it was incumbent on them to find him guilty, regardleſs of the conſequences.

After a ſhort deliberation the jury found guilty. He was ſentenced to be hanged on the Monday following; and he was executed accordingly, and his body carried to Surgeons hall for diſſection.

SCOTLAND. [110.]

A party of about fifty highlanders recruited for the 42d and 71ſt regiments, were marched to Leith on the 20th of April, to be imbarked on board tranſports. A report having been ſpread, that they were to be draughted into the Glaſgow regiment, or ſome other lowland corps, they refuſed to go on board. Upon this, a party of 200 of the South fencibles, under the command of a major, three captains, and ſix ſubalterns, were ordered to Leith, to carry the mutineers priſoners to Edinburgh caſtle if they would not imbark. On their arrival, they found the highlanders drawn up, with ſcrewed bayonets, their backs to the wall facing the quay. The Major drew up his men ſo as to prevent any of the highlanders eſcaping; and, attended by a ſerjeant who ſpake Erſe, went up to them, ſtated to them the poſitive orders he had received, and expoſtulated with them on the folly of reſiſtance. The ſerjeant reaſoned with them too, and in their own language; but ſoon turned to the Major, and intreated him to retire, for that they would fire. The Major, upon this, ordered the diviſion on the right to preſent, and afterwards recover their arms; which they did. Meanwhile a ſerjeant obſerving one of the highlanders attempting to eſcape, ſeized him by the collar; upon which the ſerjeant received two wounds by a ſword or bayonet; another ſerjeant of the fencibles was wounded by a muſket-ſhot; then ſeveral ſhot were fired on both ſides. Capt. Manſfield was killed by one of the firſt ſhots. According to one account, Capt. Manſfield was in front, and after ſome words, one of the highlanders puſhed at him with his bayonet, and miſſing his puſh, fired his piece, and killed him

on the ſpot. A corporal who ſtood near, ſhot the murderer, and inſtantly a good many ſhots were fired. About twelve highlanders were killed, and above twenty wounded; and of the fencibles two privates were killed and one wounded. The fencibles returned to the caſtle, with twenty-five priſoners, ſeveral of whom were wounded. Near thirty wounded were ſent to the Royal infirmary. — A Leith porter and another man were taken up, accuſed of inciting the mutiny, and of procuring ammunition to the mutineers; and a reward of 50l. Sterling was offered by the Sheriff to whoever would diſcover by whom the mutineers were improperly furniſhed with ammunition.

A regiment of Sutherland fencibles, lately ordered to be raiſed, muſtered upwards of 1000 men, exclusive of officers, on the 23d of April, though they began recruiting only on the 15th of March.

A letter, dated, Edinburgh, March 31. 1779, of which the following is a copy, has been tranſmitted to ſundry boroughs and pariſhes in Scotland.

"The Committee of Correſpondence obſerve, in the petition lately preſented to the Honourable the Houſe of Commons [133.], in name of the Roman-Catholics in Scotland, that they not only crave to be indemnified of the loſſes they have ſuſtained by the mobs in Edinburgh and Glaſgow, but alſo that they may be taken under the protection of parliament.

The Committee have always avowed, that their ſentiments and conduct, in this matter, have not been at all influenced by an illiberal or perſecuting zeal, but a real regard to our deareſt rights, ſecured by the preſent happy conſtitution of our country: and being now apprehenſive, that this claim of parliamentary protection may infer all the purpoſes of a repeal of the law againſt Popery, they think it their duty to communicate their ſentiments on this head to their correſpondents, in order that, if they think fit, they may immediately write to their members in parliament thereanent. — We are, &c. [Signed] *William Dickſon, P. Ralph Bowie, Clk.*

P. S. In the petition mentioned above, and Mr Burke's ſpeech in the Houſe of Commons, the Committee of Correſpondence are charged with being the authors of a pamphlet containing the moſt illiberal ſentiments [101.], which they utterly diſclaim having any concern in; nor did they publiſh any pamphlet except one, intitled, *A ſhort view of the ſtatutes at preſent in force againſt Popery.* [44.]

We are favoured with a copy of a diſſent, dated, Forres, April 27. 1779, entered by Mr John Cooper, miniſter of Glaſs, on reading over the minutes of a *pro re nata* ſynod of Moray of Jan. 19. preceding; which, he obſerved, was called at a ſeaſon of the year, and on ſuch ſhort notice, as made it inconvenient for members at a diſtance to attend, and impracticable for himſelf; by which this was the firſt opportunity he had of declaring his ſentiments: and as he neither approved of the calling of that ſynod, nor of the ſentence paſſed, he hoped the preſent meeting would either review the ſentence, and expunge it out of their record, or otherwiſe admit his diſſent.

Mr Cooper diſapproves highly of the oppoſition made to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes againſt Popery; but as his arguments coincide in a good meaſure with ſome of thoſe of Princ. Campbell [206.], we muſt content ourſelves with an extract, viz.

"Mr Cooper is truly ſorry, that the late reſolve of the ſynod of Moray, tho' perhaps more moderate than ſome others, does not breathe that ſpirit of religious liberty which he has formerly with great pleaſure obſerved among them. They have often complained of unconſtitutional enlargements of *teſts*; and he earneſtly wiſhed to have ſeen them ſtill patroniſing freedom of conſcience; and if they were to publiſh reſolves, that they ſhould have proclaimed the ſenſe they entertain of the hardſhips put on their *diſſenting brethren* in England, where the law, unleſs at this time it ſhall be repealed, ſubjects them to ſubſcriptions, notwithſtanding their frequent applications formerly to parliament for relief; an impoſition that has been ſupported by the members of our neighbouring church, not very conſiſtently with their known principles of liberty. Relief to theſe Mr Cooper would rejoice to obtain; and ſhould the bill in favour of diſſenters be again rejected, he would be happy to ſee the judicatures of this church, with becoming decency and firmneſs, ſupplicating the King and Parliament in their behalf, whenever a proper opportunity offers."

MAR-

MARRIAGES.

April 12. At Youngfield, near Dumfries, Dr William Grieve, phyſician, to Miſs Sarah Corney, daughter of the deceaſed Miles Corney, Eſq; of Penrith, in Cumberland.

23. At Edinburgh, Archibald Lamont, Eſq; younger of Knockdow, to Miſs Peggy Robertſon, daughter of Mr John Robertſon, writer in Edinburgh.

30. At Hopetoun-houſe, Lord Binning, ſon of the Earl of Haddington, to Lady Sophia Hope, daughter of the Earl of Hopetoun.

BIRTHS.

"*Orenſe, Feb.* 2. Maria Caſiero, an inhabitant of the priory of Villar de Santos, was laſt November brought to-bed of a daughter, and the next day of three boys. They all lived two days, and were baptized. The mother is well, and at her laſt lying-in before this had twins."

"*Paris, April* 2. On the 12th of March Catherine Caillot, wife of a labourer of the village of Champromenceaux, in Burgundy, was ſafely delivered of three daughters, who, with the mother, are in perfect health."

"*March* 23. On Miltown road, in Ireland, the wife of John Millay, ſchoolmaſter, was delivered of five children, two boys and three girls. She carried this uncommon burthen till the end of the ſeventh month; and tho' they were ſtill born, each infant was as perfectly formed, and as large, except two of the girls, as if they had came at the proper time."

April 4. The Counteſs of Warwick, of a ſon.

April 16. At Edinburgh, Lady Auguſta Murray, wife of Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre, Bt, of a ſon, named *William*.

16. At Edinburgh, Mrs Farquharſon, wife of Alexander Farquharſon, Eſq; of Haughton, Accountant in Edinburgh, of a ſon.

18. Lady Boſton, of a daughter.

DEATHS.

May 27. 1778. At Calcutta, Eaſt Indies, William Carmichael of Mauldſlie, Eſq;

March 31. At London, the lady of Lord Viſc Hinchinbroke.

April 1. At London, William Stanhope, Earl of Harrington, Viſcount Peterſham, a general of his Majeſty's forces, colonel of the 2d troop of horſe grenadier-guards, and comptroller of the cuſtoms in the port of Dublin — In 1746, his Lordſhip married Lady Caroline Fitzroy, daughter of Charles Duke of Grafton, grandfather of the preſent; by whom he hath left iſſue, five daughters, and three ſons. He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, Charles Viſcount Peterſham, member for Weſtminſter, who ſerved under Gen. Burgoyne, and is now in England on parole.

4. At Blagdon, Somerſetſhire, John Langhorne, D. D. rector of that pariſh, and prebendary of Wells.

1. At Ely houſe, Fife, Mr John Smiton, muſician in Edinburgh.

2. At London, Lord King.

3. At Sorneaſtle, Airſhire, in the 99th year of her age, the Counteſs of Loudon, widow of Hugh Earl of Loudon.

4. At Marchfield, Mrs Edgar, wife of Mr Peter Edgar.

5. At Lambeth, Mrs Amelia Jackſon, aged 107. She had been ill only four days.

6. At London, the Viſcounteſs-dowager Montague, aged 80 years.

6. At Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Gibſon, one of the principal clerks of ſeſſion.

9. At Leith, Capt. James Kyd, of the Wemyſs Charteris.

11. At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Walkingſhaw, ſpouſe of Mr William Anderſon, ſurgeon.

12. Arnold Neſbit, Eſq; member for Cricklade in Wilts.

12. At Guernſey, Lieut. William Sinclair, of Earl Seaforth's regiment.

12. At Balcony, Roſ-ſhire, in the 71ſt year of her age, Mrs Helen Blair, widow of Alexander Mackenzie, Eſq; of Inchcoulter.

13. At Bath, Catharine Counteſs dowager of Dundonald. She was daughter of Lord Baſil Hamilton.

13. In Clerkenwell workhouſe, Martha Dickenſon, aged 105 years.

14. At Edinburgh, the Hon John Stuart.

14. At Orchill, David Græme, Eſq; of Orchill.

16. At his ſeat at Hill-court, in Gloceſter, Sir John Fuſt, Bt, the laſt of the male line of that ancient Saxon family. He was lineally deſcended from John Fuſt, the celebrated artiſt who invented the art of printing.

16. At Edinburgh, Mr John Pillans, brewer in that city.

Near Dublin, Lord St Lawrence. He was flung from a high phaeton, and killed on the ſpot. His Lordſhip was the fourth ſon of Lord Chancellor King. It is remarkable that all the brothers ſucceſſively ſucceeded to the Barony.

18. At Glaſgow, in the 38th year of his miniſtry, and 73d of his age, Mr John Halket, miniſter of Fenwick.

19. At Glaſgow, Mrs Buchanan, widow of Neil Buchanan, Eſq; merchant in London.

21. At Chelſea, James Samuel Thornton, Eſq; aged 102.

22. At Bath, Col. Alexander Campbell, lieutenant-governor of Fort George.

23. At Chigwell, William Harvey, Eſq; member for the county of Eſſex.

24. At Marlee, Perthſhire, Æmilia Murray, Lady Sinclair, wife of James Farquharſon, Eſq; of Invercauld. Her Ladyſhip was daugh-

ter

ter of Lord George Murray, who died on the 11th of October 1760, and was father of the late, and grandfather of the preſent Duke of Athol. She was married, firſt, to John Lord Sinclair, on the 24th of April 1750, and her Lord died on the 2d of November the ſame year, without iſſue. She was married to Mr Farquharſon on the 18th of April 1754; by whom, out of a numerous iſſue, ſhe has left five daughters.

25 At Bath, Dr John Green, Biſhop of Lincoln.

26. At Edinburgh, Mr David Plenderleath, one of the miniſters of the Tolbooth church in that city

26. At Hope Park, near Edinburgh, John Watſon of Mains, Eſq;

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleaſed,

April 17. to appoint the Earl of Sandwich, John Buller, Eſq; Lord Charles Spencer, the Earl of Liſburne, Henry Penton, Eſq; Conſtantine John Lord Mulgrave, and Robert Man, Eſq; [the laſt in the room of Sir Hugh Palliſer, who reſigned;] to be Commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging. 39.679]

— 24 to order letters-patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of Ireland, —

— for conſtituting Robert Hellen, Eſq; one of the Juſtices of the court of Common Pleas in that kingdom, in the room of Thomas Tenſon, Eſq; deceaſed; — and

— containing his Majeſty's grant unto Hugh Carleton, Eſq; of the office of Solicitor General in that kingdom, in the room of Robert Hellen, Eſq;

— 27. to grant unto Arthur Duff, Eſq; the office of Comptroller of the duties of Excite in Scotland, in the room of Walter Coſſer, Eſq; deceaſed.

[*P. S.*] *May* 1 to appoint Mr James Colquhoune, to be one of the Six Ordinary Clerks of Seſſion in Scotland, in the room of Mr Thomas Gibſon, deceaſed.

War-office, Feb. 6. 1779.

15th foot: Capt. John St Leger, of the 2d bat. of the 73d foot, to be Captain, vice Colin Lindſay.

56th foot: Lt-Col. Peter Craig, of 17th foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Henry Johnſon.

War-office, March 9.

5th foot: Lieut. Charles Stephenſon, from 35th regiment, to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Lawrence Dolhunty.

7th foot; Capt. Edward Drew, from 35th regiment, to be Major, vice Lawrence Parſons; and Maj. William Croſbie, from 35th regiment, to be Major, vice Edward Drew.

21ſt foot: Capt. Nicholas Starkie, from 71ſt regiment, to be Captain, vice Malcolm Ramſay.

22d foot: Maj. John Yorke, from 33d regiment, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice John Campbell.

23d foot: Lieut. Charles Apthorpe to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice David Hay.

26th foot: Capt.-Lieut. Edward Thompſon to be Captain, vice John Macdonald; and Lieut. William Blakeney Borough to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Edward Thompſon

27th foot: Capt. Nicholas Wade, from 49th regiment, to be Major, vice Michael Cuſſe.

33d foot: Capt. William Danſey to be Major, vice John Yorke; Lieut. John Manley to be Captain, vice William Danſey; and William Cleland, Gent. Hoſpital Mate, to be Surgeon, vice Weſt Hill.

35th foot: Lieut. James Lamb to be Captain, vice Thomas Bomford; Maj Edward Drew, from 7th regiment, to be Major, vice William Croſbie; and Lieut. Palliſer Wheeler to be Captain, vice Edward Drew.

37th foot: Capt.-Lieut. Stephen Cooke to be Captain, vice Finch Tooſey; and Lieut. Alexander Cameron, from 46th regiment, to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Stephen Cooke.

38th foot: Maj. Henry Edward Fox, from 49th regiment, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice William Butler.

40th foot: Capt.-Lieut. Robert Shaw to be Captain, vice William Bamford; and Lieut. John Gaſon to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Robert Shaw.

44th foot: Lieut. William Lewis André, from 7th foot, to be Captain, vice Primroſe Kennedy.

46th foot: Capt.-Lieut. Lullum Batwell to be Captain, vice Alexander Duffe; Lieut. Brian Bell, from 4th foot, to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Lullum Batwell; Lieut. Peter Kemble, from 4th regiment, to be Captain, vice John Hall; and Lieut. Charles William Morden, from 7th foot, to be Captain, vice William Leſlie.

49th foot: Capt. William Browne, from 52d regiment, to be Major, vice Henry Edward Fox; and Lieut. Charles Leigh, from 15th regiment, to be Captain, vice Nicholas Wade.

52d foot: Lieut. George Clewlow, from 15th regiment, to be Captain, vice William Browne; Capt.-Lieut. Loftus Cliffe to be Captain, vice John Gordon; and Lieut. Ligonier Chapman, from 37th regiment, to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Loftus Cliffe.

60th reg. 3d bat.: Lieut. Frederick de Diemar, from 4th bat. to be Captain, vice Jacob Muller; and Lieut. James Rivers, from 43d

43d regiment, to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice George Mackay.

71ſt foot: Maj. John Maitland, from the Marines, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Sir William Erſkine; Capt. Simon Frafer to be Major, vice John Macdonnel; Capt.-Lieut. Colin Campbell, from 7th foot, to be Captain, vice Simon Frafer; Lieut. Nicholas Starkie, from 57th regiment, to be Captain, vice Alexander Roſs; Lieut. Donald Macdonald, from 26th regiment, to be Captain, vice Nicholas Starkie; Capt.-Lieut. Robert Hutcheſon, to be Captain, vice Boyd Porterfield; and Lieut. Charles Campbell, to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Robert Hutcheſon

War-office, March 16.

22d foot: Capt. Archibald Erſkine, from 42d regiment, to be Major, vice Rawlins Hillman.

37th foot: Capt.-Lieut. Alexander Cameron to be Captain, vice Francis Graham; and Lieut. Anthony Dalton to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Alexander Cameron.

42d foot: Lieut. David Anſtruther, from 26th regiment, to be Captain, vice Archibald Erſkine.

60th reg. 4th bat.: Lieut. Francis Erſkine, from 23d regiment, to be Captain, vice James Aluz.

Argyleſhire reg: Lieut. Peter Murdoch, from 64th regiment, to be Captain, vice —— Campbell.

War-office, March 20.

2d troop of horſe-guards: Richard Barker, of the 3d foot-guards, to be Surgeon, vice Duncan Forbes.

2d dragoons: Capt.-Lieut. Peter Smith to be Captain, vice John Rochied; and Lieut. John Nesbit to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Peter Smith.

15th dragoons: Edmund Taylor, of 61ſt foot, to be Surgeon, vice Edward Hawkins.

Coldſtream reg. of foot-guards: Capt. Thomas Slough to be Captain of a Company, vice Henry de la Douespe.

18th foot: Lieut. John Joyner Ellis to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice John Mawby.

61ſt foot: —— Thomas to be Surgeon, vice Edmund Taylor.

79th foot: Capt. Edward Jenkins, of late 112th regiment, to be Captain, vice William Greaves.

Captain-Commandant Dalrymple's corps: Capt. Edward Tiſdall, of 50th regiment, to be Major of Brigade, vice John de Birniere.

Captains
William Hamilton, of 2d foot,
John Nairne, of Highland Emigrants,
Edward Jenkins, of 79th foot,
James Barker, of 56th foot, and
John Freke, of 39th foot,
To be Majors in the Army.

Major
William Hamilton, of 2d foot,
To be Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army.

War-office, March 23.

72d foot: Lieut. Charles Gunter Legge, of the 10th dragoons, to be Captain-Lieutenant.

78th foot: Capt. Thomas Frederick Mackenzie Humberſton to be Major.

War-office, March 27.

2d dragoon-guards: Lieut. James Durham to be Captain, vice Thomas Holme; and Corn. Thomas Charles Hardy to be Lieutenant, vice James Durham.

3d dragoon-guards: Capt. Lieut. Henry Yarburg to be Captain, vice Francis Boughton; and Lieut. Thomas Cooper Everitt to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Henry Yarburg.

19th (light) dragoons: Maj.-Gen. Ruſſel Manners to be Colonel.

20th (light) dragoons: Maj.-Gen. Richard Burton Phillipſon to be Colonel.

21ſt (light) dragoons: Maj.-Gen. John Douglas to be Colonel.

Coldſtream reg of foot-guards: Capt. John Duroure to be Captain of a Company, vice Mathew Smith.

Maj. Donald Macdonald, of the Highland Emigrants, to be Major in the Army by Brevet.

Maj. Donald Macdonald, of the Highland Emigrants, to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army by Brevet.

War-office, April 10.

10th dragoons: Capt. Robert Maſon Lewis to be Major, vice William Morrice.

60th reg 2d bat.: Brig. and Lieut. Alexander Wright, of 2d troop of horſe-guards, to be Captain, vice Daniel Macalpine.

War-office, April 20.

2d troop of horſe grenadier-guards: Capt. Thomas Leigh, of 17th reg. of light dragoons, to be Lieutenant and Captain, vice Erafmus Corbett.

6th dragoons: Surgeon John Crane, of 13th foot, to be Surgeon, vice William Porter.

13th foot: Hoſpital Mate Houlton Harris to be Surgeon, vice John Crane.

59th foot: Hoſpital Mate John Maculloch to be Surgeon, vice Trotter Hill.

76th foot: Capt.-Lieut. John Macdonald to be Captain, vice —— Macdonald; and Lieut. Samuel Graham to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice John Macdonald.

Dr John Mervin Nooth to be Superintendant General of all the hoſpitals for the Britiſh Forces in North America, and of all the hoſpitals for the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, ſerving in North America.

William

William Brown (Clerk) to be Chaplain to the garriſon of Land-guard fort, vice Thomas Kirkbanke.

War-office, April 24.

2d dragoon-guards: Maj Sir William Arnot, Bt, to be Lieutenant Colonel, vice Ruſſel Manners; Capt. Sir William Innes, Bt, to be Major, vice Sir William Arnot Bt, and Capt. Chriſtopher Teeſdale, of the 4th dragoons, to be Captain of a Troop, vice Thomas Mallack.

3d dragoon-guards: Capt. Richard Brooke to be Major, vice Philip de la Motte; and Capt. Thomas Trewren, of 16th dragoons, to be Captain of a Troop, vice Richard Brooke.

1ſt dragoons: Maj. Philip Goldſworthy to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Richard Burton Phillipſon; and Capt Henry Haſſard to be Major, vice Philip Goldſworthy.

2d dragoons: Lt-Col. David Home to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice John Douglas; Capt Baſil Heron to be Major, vice David Home; and Capt. George Sanford, of 7th dragoons, to be Captain of a Troop, vice James Telfer.

6th dragoons: Capt. Alexander Hart, of 11th dragoons, to be Major, vice John Robins.

7th dragoons: Capt. Thomas Warburton, of 11th dragoons, to be Major, vice Robert Laurie.

11th dragoons: Capt. William Elliot, of 6th dragoons, to be Captain of a Troop, vice Alexander Hart.

19th light dragoons: Lt-Col. Thomas Laurie, of 7th dragoons, to be Lieutenant-Colonel; Capt. Charles Henchman, of 10th dragoons, to be Major; Capt.-Lieut. Charles Gunter Legge, of 75th foot, to be Captain-Lieutenant; and Hoſpital Mate Chriſtopher Arden to be Surgeon.

20th light dragoons: Maj. John Robins, of 6th dragoons, to be Lieutenant Colonel; Capt. James Telfer, of 2d dragoons, to be Major; Lieut. George Dauber, of 2d dragoons, to be Captain-Lieutenant; and Hoſpital Mate Robert Anderſon to be Surgeon.

21ſt light dragoons: Maj. Philip de la Motte, of 3d dragoon-guards, to be Lieutenant-Colonel; Capt. Thomas Mallack, of 2d dragoon-guards, to be Major; Lieut. John Quantock, of 2d dragoon-guards, to be Captain-Lieutenant; and Surgeon John Thompſon, of 51ſt foot, to be Surgeon.

51ſt foot: Surgeon's Mate —— Hall to be Surgeon, vice John Thompſon.

2d troop of horſe grenadier-guards: Gen. Jeffery Lord Amherſt to be Colonel, vice William Earl of Harrington.

1ſt dragoon-guards: Gen. Sir George Howard to be Colonel, vice John Moſtyn.

7th dragoons: Lt-Gen. Sir Henry Clinton to be Colonel, vice Sir George Howard.

12th foot: Col. William Picton to be Colonel, vice Sir Henry Clinton.

Lt-Gen. James Murray to be Governor of the iſland of Minorca, vice John Moſtyn.

War-office, April 27.

19th light dragoons: Capt. Richard Grant, of the 3d dragoon guards, to be Major, vice Charles Henchman, who declines.

[*To be continued.*]

Prices of grain at Haddington, May 14. 1779.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	17s. 6d.	16s. 6d.	15s. 0d.
Bear,	13s. 6d.	12s. 8d.	11s. 6d.
Oats,	11s. 3d.	10s. 9d.	9s. 6d.
Peaſe,	9s. 0d.	8s. 0d.	7s. 6d.

Edinburgh, May 21. Oat-meal, 10 d. Bear-meal, 6 d. Peaſe-meal, 6 d.

Burials in the Grayfriars church-yard, Edinburgh, in April 1779.

Males 40 } 68. Decreaſed 11.
Females 28 }

Age.	No	Diſeases.	No
Under	2 20	Aged ——	10
Between 2 &	5 5	Aſthma ——	2
5 &	10 3	Bowelhive ——	2
10 &	20 2	Childbed ——	1
20 &	30 4	Conſumption ——	16
30 &	40 5	Dropſy ——	1
40 &	50 4	Fever ——	13
50 &	60 5	Meaſles ——	1
60 &	70 9	Shot at Leith ——	7
70 &	80 8	Small pox ——	6
80 &	90 2	Stillborn ——	6
90 &	100 1	Suddenly ——	1
		Teething ——	2

PRICES of STOCKS.

April 13.

3 p. cent. Conſ. 61 7 8ths a 62
3 1 half p. cent. 1758, 62 1 8th a 1 4th
India Bonds, 17 s. a 18 s. Pr.
Navy and Vict. Bills, 7 7 8ths p. cent.
Scrip 63
Annuities 1778, 12 1 4th 16 years purchaſe
Lottery Tickets 14 l. 4 s. 6 d.
The reſt ſhut.

April 26.

India ſtock 155 1 4th
South Sea New Annuities 63 3 4ths a 7 8ths
3 p. cent. Bk. red 63 3 8ths
3 p. cent. Conſ. 64 1 8th a 3 8ths
4 p. cent. Conſ. 1762, 63 5 8ths a 64
4 p. cent. 1777, 81 1 8th a 82
India Bonds, 23 s. a 25 s. Pr.
Navy and Vict. Bills, 7 3 8ths p. cent.
Short anpuities, 6 years purchaſe.
Scrip. 63 3 8ths a 1 half
Annuities 1778, 13-16 years purchaſe
Lottery Tickets 14 l. 6 s.
The reſt ſhut.